Perspectives for Aleppo: towards an integrated approach for 'post-conflict' reconstruction of cultural heritage

Von der Fakultät für Architektur, Bauingenieurwesen und Stadtplanung der Brandenburgischen Technischen Universität Cottbus–Senftenberg zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktor der Philosophie (Dr.phil.)

genehmigte Dissertation vorgelegt von

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Tag der Disputation: 05.05.2020

"Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer: a destruction out of which no remnants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed. Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture. That which I have above insisted upon as the life of the whole, that spirit which is given only by the hand and eye of the workman, never can be recalled. Another spirit may be given by another time, and it is then a new building; but the spirit of the dead workman cannot be summoned up, and commanded to direct other hands, and other thoughts. And as for direct and simple copying, it is palpably impossible. What copying can there be of surfaces that have been worn half an inch down? The whole finish of the work was in the half inch that is gone; if you attempt to restore that finish, you do it conjecturally; if you copy what is left, granting fidelity to be possible, (and what care, or watchfulness, or cost can secure it,) how is the new work better than the old? There was yet in the old some life, some mysterious suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost; some sweetness in the gentle lines which rain and sun had wrought. There can be none in the brute hardness of the new carving."

—John Ruskin: The Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849)

Abstract

The rebuilding of war-damaged historic cities has a significant impact on the way the affected societies can heal and recover in the post-conflict situation. If carried out without taking into consideration the inseparable relationship between the built structures and the formation of people's identity, the reconstruction processes could cause more damage than the one endured due to the conflict. In this context, the rebuilding of cities and their historic centres in particular play a significant role in restoring the collective memory of the shared setting.

This dissertation researches the disturbing effects and trauma resulting from the deliberate destruction of heritage assets during armed conflicts, concerning both inhabitants and ancient urban structures. It discusses the discourse on the issue of post-conflict reconstruction that includes the arguments and recommendations made by several international experts and organizations which stipulates with both theoretical and practical outcome. The work of many theorists, authors, architects, philosophers, and professionals working in the field of heritage management, is examined thoroughly to provide a deep understanding of the issues discussed throughout this research.

The most recent illustration within this context is the war in Syria, which has caused excessive damage to the country's cultural heritage. Noting that the military clashes have come to an end in several areas within the country and the physical damage has stopped, reconstruction projects have begun to materialize, and the urgent need for an overall consistent framework for rebuilding Syria is more crucial than ever.

Syria's cultural heritage is facing a high threat of a second destruction, which will most likely follow if the involved governmental representatives, stakeholders, society or 'societies' did not realize the fundamental necessity for a value-based reconstruction approach which guarantees that the assessment of values is carried out and achieved in a balanced manner. Otherwise, mistakes will occur, and consequently, the collective memory and identity of the Syrians might never be recovered.

The rebuilding of post-war Syria is complex and challenging; it embraces more than a physical transformation of urban structures, and poses new threats to achieve psychological healing and recovering. The urban integrity of the Syrian cities is threatened, especially in the old city of Aleppo where the damage goes beyond the physical fabric and extends to endanger the city's historical identity. Therefore, the main focus of the work is to develop a strategic framework which goes hand in hand with the traditional rebuilding approaches, and merges several practical and theoretical contexts deduced from previous case studies. The essence of the research revolves around understanding the significance of the city's heritage and historic fabric, which must be considered a priority when deciding for the reconstruction procedures.

Zusammenfassung

Der Wiederaufbau von im Krieg beschädigten historischen Städten und Kulturgütern hat erhebliche Auswirkungen darauf, wie sich eine Gesellschaft nach Konfliktende rehabilitieren kann. Wird während des Wiederaufbaus der zerstörten oder beschädigten Strukturen, das untrennbare Verhältnis des gebauten Kulturerbes mit der gesellschaftlichen Identität vernachlässigt, kann ein größerer Schaden als durch den Konflikt selbst erzeugt werden. In diesem Kontext spielt insbesondere der Wiederaufbau von historischen Zentren und Altstädten eine wichtige Rolle bei der Wahrung des kollektiven gesellschaftlichen Gedächtnisses.

Vor diesem Hintergrund werden im Rahmen der vorliegenden Dissertation die physischen und sozio-kulturellen Auswirkungen untersucht, die sich aus der teils bewussten Zerstörung von Kulturgütern während bewaffneter Konflikte ergeben. Darüber hinaus ist ein inhaltlicher Schwerpunkt die Untersuchung des internationalen, wissenschaftlichen Diskurses zum Thema Wiederaufbau von Kulturerbe im Fachbereich des Kulturerbe-Managements.

Der seit 2011 laufende Bürgerkrieg in Syrien hat die historischen Güter des Landes übermäßig beschädigt: antike bis mittelalterliche Stätten, Gebäude und wertvolle Artefakte wurden durch vorsätzliche, als auch unbeabsichtigte Angriffe, Vandalismus und Plünderungen irreversibel zerstört. In großen Teilgebieten des Landes sind die Kampfhandlungen mittlerweile eingestellt und die ersten Wiederaufbauprojekte initiiert oder in Realisierung. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die Notwendigkeit eines einheitlichen Rahmens für den Wiederaufbau der zahlreichen betroffenen Kulturgüter umso wichtiger.

Syriens kulturelles Erbe ist trotz eines weitest gehenden Endes der Kampfhandlungen von einer zweiten “Zerstörung” durch einen unkontrollierten Wiederaufbau bedroht, der nur vermieden werden kann, wenn Regierung, Interessengruppen und die Gesellschaft die Notwendigkeit eines wertebasierten Wiederaufbauansatzes (value-based reconstruction approach) für Städte und Kulturgüter erkennen und in Planungsprozesse einfließen lassen. Andernfalls werden das kollektive Gedächtnis und die Identität der Syrischen Gesellschaft erheblichen Schaden erleiden.

Der Wiederaufbau Syriens nach dem Krieg ist ein komplexer und herausfordernder Prozess, der mehr umfasst als nur eine physische Neu- oder Umgestaltung der städtischen Strukturen. Die Integrität der syrischen Städte ist insbesondere in der Weltkulturerbestätte der Altstadt von Aleppo bedroht und ungewiss. Die Entwicklung eines wissenschaftlichen Rahmens für den anstehenden Wiederaufbauprozess der Altstadt von Aleppo unter Bewertung und Anwendung traditioneller denkmalpflegerischer Konzepte und Erfahrungen aus ähnlichen Fallstudien ist ein weiterer Schwerpunkt dieser Dissertation. Grundlage hierfür ist die Herausarbeitung der Bedeutung des historischen Erbes der Altstadt von Aleppo, welches im anstehenden Entscheidungs- und Umsetzungsprozess im Rahmen des Wiederaufbaus von hoher Priorität sein muss.

Acknowledgement

"We may live without her, and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her" (Ruskin 1849, p.164) states the English critic of art, architecture, and society John Ruskin –whose inspiring words I quoted at the beginning of the work– in emphasizing the significance of architecture.

Ruskin's successive characterization of the various meanings embodied within architecture has influenced me in the writing process, and understanding the historic built structures beyond the physical representations. Ruskin argues that (1849, p.164): "poetry and architecture; and the latter in some sort includes the former, and is mightier in its reality; it is well to have, not only what men have thought and felt, but what their hands have handled, and their strength wrought, and their eyes beheld, all the days of their life."

The prominence of architecture, how I comprehend it, lies within its capacity to portray an infinite number of selected narratives. It could reflect victory, defeat, power, imagination, hope, and with its absence, grief, and tragedy. My work aims to contribute to the understanding of the built environment and its entangled linkage to people's collective identity and memory. To display how rebuilding 'heritage' should not be 'out of the question' but more of 'under the question' and, to examine the steps of 'politicizing heritage reconstruction' especially in the case of post-war Syria. 'Militarized reconstruction' is my preferable term when discussing the rebuilding projects across the country, reconstruction to narrate of a false victory; a victory that the regime achieved with mere brutality.

When I began my research in 2016, Aleppo was still a major battlefield for the regime's forces and the armed militias; I recall having 'hope' that the city will have a bright future, and I might visit it soon. However, my dreams were shattered by the end of the year when the Aleppo battle was concluded and the whole city fell under the regime's control. Though keeping up with the daily news of Syria was extremely difficult, I strived to revive my connection to my hometown through writing, especially that many tangible places which contributed to my vague memory, were

damaged or destroyed. The journey was a rollercoaster of emotions and thoughts, but my love for Aleppo kept me going, and I am delighted to have reached this far.

While I am fully aware that achieving an integrated approach for rebuilding old Aleppo is far from being recognised, I am hopeful that my research would shed a light on some 'examples' that could be followed or avoided while executing the rebuilding plans. I do not claim that I have managed to cover all the relevant aspects, due to time constrains, but I would humbly say that the work that I have managed within three years from 2016 to 2019 embraces critical discussions, and analytical discourse which are crucial at this phase for Aleppo's future.

Syria is witnessing a different era and winners write history. While the regime is constructing the narrative of the conflict in the present, the truth of the past will soon be forgotten. Unregulated rebuilding is taking place within Syria, and between praising and condemning such projects, Syria's history is being refabricated to embrace a specific story. They are burying the truth under the ruins; the same ruins that were there to tell their/our version of reality, but now are being cleared and disregarded. Nonetheless, I feel it is 'our responsibility' as witnesses of the war, to tell the truth; to convey our stories of the beautiful city of stones, which still lives in our souls, regardless of how damaged and deformed it has become.

I wish to thank my mentor Prof. Leo Schmidt for encouraging me to take up this project, and for his much-needed assistance in course of my research. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Prof. Inken Baller for the inspiring discussions that we had over the years, and for her vital support from the outset of my professional journey. My sincere appreciation goes to Prof. Charlotta Hanner Nordstrand for her insightful guidance, and significant contribution to widening my intellectual perspectives.

Special thanks go to the Gerda Henkel Stiftung for supporting my work during the three-year period of the research, and to the Graduate Research School (GRS) of the BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg, which granted me a short-term scholarship 'Graduiertenförderungsverordnung (GradV)' for six months that allowed me to finalize my work; without the support of these institutions, my research endeavour would have been very difficult to achieve.

On a more personal note, I extend my genuine appreciation to my partner Florian, my parents Emad and Layla, my sister Salma, and most importantly my cat Moonie who was my devoted companion throughout the writing-period, and made my working nights tolerable and pleasant.

to my everlasting dream of a free Syria!

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Acronyms

AAAS	The American Association for the Advancement of Science
AFSED	Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development
AKTC	The Aga Khan Trust for Culture
ARCH	Alliance for the Restoration of Cultural Heritage
DAI	German Archaeological Institute
DGAM	Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums of Syria
DOC	Directorate of Aleppo's Old City
GTZ	German Agency for Technical Cooperation
HfP	Heritage for Peace
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICCROM-ATHAR	Architectural-Archaeological Tangible Heritage in the Arab Region
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
PENN-CHC	Cultural Heritage Centre at the University of Pennsylvania Museum
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITAR	United Nations Institute for Training and Research
UNOSAT	United Nations Institute for Training and Research's Operational Satellite Applications Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WMF	World Monuments Fund

Introduction: thesis, objectives and methodology

All through the ages, cities have been at the centre of change: urban structures and societies are continually being transformed and reformed. This transformation directed the tangible cultural heritage, such as historical monuments, archaeological sites, and ancient city-fabric, to act as traces of the civilization that flourished at that given place throughout history. However, it must be noted that this change is not limited to socio-economic or market-based development, which is arguably the main initiator of urban transformation. Extraordinary incidents, for example natural hazards such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, floods, etc. and even man-made tragedies such as wars and conflicts, play a significant role in contaminating cities in terms of damaging and destroying the valuable urban structures and heritage assets; thus, harming the collective identity of the targeted society as a consequence.

Without a doubt, in times of conflicts or wars, the focal concern is to save as many human lives as possible and to provide people with the necessary level of safety needed to sustain their welfare. Nonetheless, the modern discourse on the importance of cultural heritage and its contribution to the overall wellbeing of humans and their society revealed that there is an urgent need to preserve the significant built-up structures and protect as many heritage assets as possible, to ensure the recovery of both cities and their inhabitants.

Tragic incidents such as the burning of the national library in Sarajevo; the bombing of the monumental Buddhas of Bamiyan in Afghanistan, and recently the grievous damage and destruction of many cultural and religious sites and monuments in the Middle East, all led to the loss of irreplaceable heritage assets and mobilized people worldwide to petition for their protection.

The devastation of heritage assets is not a modern phenomenon; it has a long history throughout which, the destruction of valuable monuments and looting artifacts were utilized as a way to intimidate the enemies and suppress their power, by disconnecting them from their historical and cultural roots. Nevertheless, it was until recent times, in the wake conflicts after many historic cities were ravaged during WWII and the Balkan wars, that targeting cultural heritage received the utmost attention.

Unfortunately, the acceleration of human development and civilized societies are accompanied by the development of weapons and military technology, which often changed history and affected the rise and fall of civilizations. Targeting cities and cultural heritage with the aim of destruction keep spreading worldwide with little to no measures to restrain this phenomenon or ending it. The devastation of heritage assets during armed conflicts is usually attributed to be 'arising from military necessity and the exigencies of war' which is far from real, historical records and investigations proved that this damage is often intentional and implemented in an overall plan to weaken the opponent by annihilating its cultural identity and places of memory.

Architecture critic and author Robert Bevan argues in his most famous book *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War* (2006, p.8) that "the link between erasing any physical reminder of a people and its collective memory and the killing of the people themselves is ineluctable." He states that the destruction of cultural heritage is viewed as a genocidal act of ethnic or racial cleansing, and an instrument of political domination over certain groups, by obliterating any physical proof of their past and cutting all the links with their authentic identity and its physical structures.

In such events, societies lose more than what is visible to the eyes, they lose the connection to their cities and; thus, their past and inherited legacy. Once the conflict is concluded, immediate reconstruction plans for the damaged physical urban structures, and attempts to achieve recovery of the affected communities, emerge. The attention which is often fixated on the humanitarian issues within the main field of action soon shifts to the rebuilding of the destroyed city-fabric.

The rebuilding process frequently fluctuates under pressure to respond to the immediate urgent need to create new housing systems, infrastructure facilities, and network roads. While this process is essential and vital, cultural heritage recovery is often neglected, even though reviving the collective identity, memory, and other traditions embraced in those cultural assets is crucial. Without it, there is a significant threat to the survival of the community and to achieving recovery after these hideous events, since reclaiming the values of historic sites is essential for recovering the identity entangled with them.

Cultural heritage does not only shape the landscape of historic cities but acts as a symbolic evocative of the population that inhabit them. The decisions, whether to rebuild, replicate, demolish, or restore, are still forming the heart of the discourse debate in the field of heritage conservation. Those decisions are often made without sufficient assessment of the pre-war identity or the post-

war damages of the historic fabric: the post-war reconstruction approaches adopted after WWII are evident examples.

These approaches revealed that historic urban structures often survive the damages caused by explosives, fire, and excessive use of weaponry, some valuable evidence of existing archaeological layers always survives. However, the great danger which threatened these structures was the radical approaches for reconstruction that emerged once the conflict was concluded, as was distinct in many European cities which were damaged and rebuilt after 1945.

During the course of seventy years, the case of war, destruction and reconstruction kept repeating itself, only to reach Syria in March 2011; and what started as peaceful demonstrations with simple demands of justice and freedom turned into a brutal armed conflict and a full-scale civil war. Over seven years of conflict resulted in the deaths of over half a million Syrians, the forced displacement of millions more, and a considerable loss of the country's social and physical structures. What began as another Arab Spring movement against a dictatorial regime has turned into a proxy war that has attracted the interests of the world and regional powers.

The old city of Aleppo suffered immense destruction due to the heavy clashes and battles which took place in its centre causing many historic monuments, buildings and even entire quarters to be completely wiped out to the ground. The damage of such valuable heritage does not only affect the Aleppines or the Syrians, but this damage also has its toll on the whole humanity, as it destroys the source of many civilizations and endangers the foundations of both urban society and structure for many years to come.

1 Main research question

The painful consequences of the war in Syria are yet to be calculated, but the threats facing the Syrian identity cannot be ignored. The post-conflict rebuilding of the country is not only significant when it comes to the story it will be telling, but the other stories it chose to ignore and its effects on constructing an image of the past, which does not reflect real events nor pave the way to achieve reconciliation. Given this, the critical question that I seek to answer through this work is: What could be the measures to rebuild Aleppo's heritage property in the context of urban recovery? During my search for an answer, I found it essential to address the following sub-issues:

- What is the impact of heritage reconstruction on people's well-being and recovery? How was the debate on rebuilding heritage initiated, and how did it evolve to address aspects of collective memory and identity?
- What were the main approaches for post-conflict rebuilding in certain damaged cities? How did their implementation affect both the cities' physical and social structures?
- What are the most significant urban structures that composed Aleppo's cultural landscape? How did the old city advance for many centuries, and what is the aftermath of its current destruction due to the conflict?

2 Sections and objectives

The research is arranged in seven key sections. Section One reflects a preliminary theoretical study on heritage formation, the connection between heritage, memory, and identity, it displays several identifications and observations related to the significance of heritage for people and the negative impact of its destruction. It identifies the most relevant international legal frameworks as well as the resulting challenges for implementing their guidelines and their limitations with a reflection on the Syrian case.

The discussion on the different types of heritage values and their assessment, cultural significance – following the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999 – and the steps to initiate and implement the best conservation practice, are included in Section Two. I outline the restrictions for developing a value-based approach for the case of post-conflict old Aleppo, and the necessity of adopting principles derived from the 'Guidelines on Safeguarding Cultural Significance of Urban Structures Damaged by Armed Conflict' – the Cottbus Document 2017 – (Annex 1).

In the third section, I examine the various realms of discourse in the relevant literature on post-conflict reconstruction after World War II, with the focus on the treatment of ruins, the perception of people and the contribution to the overall social-recovery process. I conclude with the international guidelines, principles, and legislation and their arguments against reconstruction. With this part, I complete the theoretical sections of the work and move to the practical part of the dissertation.

Section Four incorporates analytical and case-based study research of post-conflict reconstruction of four different urban structures, intending to provide a practical input and learned lessons to be

utilized in post-conflict old Aleppo. Here, heritage typologies vary from an entire ancient city to a single historic district and monument, and the implemented approaches between replication, installing new buildings in historical context, and adopting a tabula rasa method.

Case study research concluded, the fifth section examines Syria's political history; the reasons for the uprising; and, the different actors involved in the conflict and their interests. This part is fundamental because it helps the reader develop a deeper understanding of Syria's pre-war identity, as well as the war's aftermath.

Section six simplifies the core of the research where a detailed documentation of Aleppo's history, heritage assets and how the urban fabric is affected directly by the conflict is conducted, this part paves the way for the final seventh section that provides a summary of the key empirical findings of the selected case study research. Along with a discussion of the effects of the adopted rebuilding approaches, a brief presentation of a possible framework and proposed guidelines for old Aleppo follows.

3 Methodology

In the following sections I identify not just the linkage between the tangible heritage – its destruction and reconstruction – and the intangible aspects associated with it, but rather the limitations of the existing legal frameworks protecting this link; the relevant discourse on post-conflict rebuilding; significance and values of historic places and lessons learned from the case study research. My contribution to the existing analysis and discussion is by utilizing several qualitative research approaches to analyze the gathered material which was drawn on each research question and ranged from text-based data analysis to conducting on site-interviews, observations, and, evaluations.

The theoretical part of the work adopted the qualitative research approach, which is defined by Cassell and Symon (1994, p.7) to include the following characteristics:

> a focus on interpretation rather than quantification; an emphasis on subjectivity rather than objectivity; flexibility in the process of conducting research; an orientation towards process rather than outcome; a concern with context—regarding behaviour and situation as inextricably linked in forming experience; and finally, an explicit recognition of the impact of the research process on the research situation.

As explained at the beginning of the dissertation, my interest in carrying out the research was deduced from my personal attachment and concerns for the future of the city, where I spent most of my life. Thus, the statement of Cassell and Symon is highly relevant in the context of my work.

While my initial aim was revolving around finding an answer for the main research question, the methodology was developed while I was collecting the relevant research material. I intended for the outcome of my work to be implemented in the post-conflict rebuilding of old Aleppo, which has proven to be unfeasible as time passed. Throughout the research, the political situation has shifted in the city, and there was no way to identify the current nor the future stakeholders involved in the reconstruction phase; consequently, a value-based approach could not be developed in a particular way. Indeed, I came to realize that many of the issues derived from the situation on the ground, which was in many ways predictable, yet so unpredictable; therefore, the hypotheses of the work were generated from the analysis, rather than stated at the outset.

The approach adopted for researching the case studies is linked to the Grounded Theory (GT), which was found to legitimize the qualitative research. In 1967, sociologists Barney Glaser, and Anselm Strauss published a book titled *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* on how to put the theory into practice. The publication encouraged researchers in social studies to adopt "an effective strategy" which specifies "to ignore the literature of theory and fact of the area under study" with the aim to "assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, p.37).

I adopted the categorization of the social scientist, Robert K. Yin, on using the case study research as a strategy when 'why and how' questions are being asked because "such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence." While issues involving 'what, who or where,' usually "favor survey strategies or the analysis of archival records" (Yin 2003, p.6). The strategy of this section of my work began with the questions: 'what can we learn from the past?' Also, 'how do we avoid the mistakes that were committed.' Thus, I merged the Grounded Theory with the case study strategy and surveying methods.

Data gathered for the case study research combined scholarly texts, interviews – especially with national and international experts who were involved in pre/post-conflict projects – as well as field notes and observations which were drafted during on-site visits.

4 Literature Review

It is important to note that the author here highlights only some of the key publications, that were most relevant for the discussions within this dissertation. While numerous other publications are also significant –many of which were examined by the author–, they were either not directly focused on the topic, or were not specifically relevant to the points that needed to be elaborated. The research is built on wide-ranging literature review which covers six sections of the work.

The author focused on the following abbreviated sources:

Section One: Memory, identity and cultural heritage

In 1950, French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs published a significant book about the relationship between memory and society. The book titled '*On Collective Memory*' (Halbwachs 1950) underlined the essence of memory within the groups' dynamic and existence, and how to perceive and reconstruct the past beyond individuals' perception in the present. Halbwachs' main argument was that memory cannot function in an individual context, but has to exist in a collective framework. Collective memory in his opinion differs from group to another, and determines the group's behavior and ability to remember the past through its monuments and inherited rituals.

Architect Aldo Rossi wrote his book '*The Architecture of the City*' (Rossi 1966) which was published in Italian, only to be translated to English in 1982. The book is considered a shifting point in understanding the city beyond its modern structures and architectural functionality. Rossi highlighted that the city can only be understood by analyzing the historical events which created its monuments, and that the past is perfectly portrayed within the urban spaces that allow people to create a collective memory and convey it to the future generations.

In 1985, David Lowenthal published the book '*The Past is a Foreign Country*' (Lowenthal 1985) in which he extensively investigated the fundamental role of the past in shaping societies, and developing a better understanding of the present and the sequence of events that led to it. Lowenthal aimed to analyzing three aspects: 1) the control of the past on our lives, and how we choose to embrace or avoid it; 2) the role of the surrounding environment in reflecting past events, and how the generations deal with this reflection according to their needs; 3) the way we process the inherited past and our very self-position on the events. His reflection on the past and what we can take from it, is highly significant in developing the way by which people perceive their heritage

and identity formation. He argues that heritage reflects past events and merges it with current notions, and is a testament for both its initiators and inheritors.

The discussion on memory and its connection to the past formed the heart of Pierre Nora's work, most notably in his publication '*Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire*' (Nora 1989), which was first published in French and aimed to developing a deeper understanding of the French history through studying the realm of collective memory, soon was introduced to the wider English-speaking audience and served as a basic supplier for the memory studies on the international level. Nora made a clear distinction between memory and history, but the significance of his work lies within his concept of the 'sites of memory' in which the past is able to emphasis itself in a tangible way through not only museums and monuments and but cities, relics and symbols.

The modernist discourse on memory and its interrelation with the urban experiences of cities were researched to a great extent within Mark Crinson's edited book '*Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City*' (Crinson 2005). While the modern approach of architecture often neglected the role of memory in creating the city, the work of Crinson connects the gap between the two by deepening the understanding of the different layers which give the city its identity and make it significant. The contributors of the book covered many aspects within the fields of history, cultural and social studies, fine arts, and psychology with a special focus on analyzing the creation of 'post-industrial' and 'post-urban' cities.

Within the book '*The Destruction of Memory – Architecture at War*' (Bevan 2006), Robert Bevan addresses the consequences of wars and armed-conflicts on architecture. He argues that eradicating architecture is being used deliberately during conflicts with the aim to destroy the nation's memory and identity, and consequently its existence. Bevan highlights several historic occasions where the destruction of monuments was carried out with the intention of ethnic and cultural cleansing, and the misappropriation of reconstruction within the post-conflict phase. He challenges the common perceptions on concepts like remembering and forgetting, war memorials, exploiting architecture for political dominance and many other considerations. Bevan's book is highly significant to acquire a greater understanding of the modern context of warfare, and the use of force in creating false identities and realities.

Section Two: a typology of values

'*The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*' (1999) was first adopted in 1979 and its latest version dates to 2013, the charter provides standards for heritage management and conservation within Australia. It is famous for its definition of the term 'cultural significance,' and the identification of different heritage values which –according to the principles of the Charter– should be identified before deciding for an appropriate conservation practice. The Charter became increasingly influential in recent years, and its guidelines are being used beyond the Australian context in many regions of the world.

Randall Mason published in 2002 a book chapter titled '*Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices*' (Mason 2002), as part of *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage-Research Report*, edited by Marta de la Torre. In his paper, Mason discussed many aspects related to the conservation of heritage sites, and introduced the concept of value-based approach which balances all the values associated with a cultural site, and assures its management in a stable way between the different stakeholders. Mason identified a typology of heritage values, several methodologies and tools for their assessment, and highlighted the proficiency within the conservation field to ascertain all types of values.

Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels wrote the article '*Value and Significance in Archaeology*' (Lafrenz Samuels 2008), which explored the essence of heritage values within the different archaeological practices. Her work focused on several modern debates concerning heritage management procedures and recreating the past, and underlined the institutionalization of the term 'significance' with a special attention paid to the development of this term in relation to the international economic market. Lafrenz Samuels' research drew on the critical role of archaeologists, and the capability of archaeological practices and material heritage management of influencing the production of values.

Section Three: Conceptualizing post-conflict reconstruction

In 1993, Jeffry Diefendorf published the book '*In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II*' (Diefendorf 1993), which discussed the rebuilding of West German cities following the end of the war in 1945. Diefendorf's book is considered one of the pioneers –within the English literature– in documenting not only the reconstruction procedures, but the historical events within the war, the rebuilding debates that followed the bombings, and the removal of rubbles and remains until many cities have risen anew. Throughout the publication, he explained

who was involved in the rebuilding, which priorities were given and why, which decisions were to be made and for what purposes. Within the realms of architecture, planning and preservation, he drew a critical line on the contribution of individuals, institutions and communities.

Gregory Ashworth and John Tunbridge published a book '*Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 2006), that focused on explaining many theoretical and practical aspects of heritage interpretation. The book considered the ethical methods involved when approaching sensitive historical records –like the ones dealing with atrocities, genocides, and suppressions–, and the way they could be interpreted according to the observers. However, the book's significance lies within its capability to identify the potential of heritage as a source for tourism industry, after examining its nature and the impact it has on the political, social, and economic contexts, as well as the possibility to exploit it to fulfil certain needs.

In 1997, architect Lebbeus Woods made a significant contribution to the discussion on the relationship between architecture and –political unrests, man-made and natural-related disasters–. He included within the book '*Radical Reconstruction'* (Wood 1997), both theoretical output and expressive illustrations from three projects in Sarajevo, San Francisco and Havana. He introduced a new approach for buildings reconstruction, which claimed respect for the damaging events, rather than aiming to ignoring or erasing them through rebuilding. Woods considered the changes of buildings or urban structures to go beyond the physical representation, and to be manifested through the transformations they reflect on the ways of living.

Stephen Graham edited a remarkable book '*Cities, War, and Terrorism: Towards an Urban Geopolitics*' (Graham 2004), which analyzed in detail many urban sites that underwent traumatic events (like the ones in the cold war, the Balkan war, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, as well as the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the 9/11 terrorist attack). The publication had contributions from planners, theorists, architects, sociologists, and covered several topics related to terrorism, counter-terrorism and warfare. The book had a progressive view on the way it discussed terror and aggressions in the modern world, in addition to the widespread violence which turned urban spaces into fields for geopolitical struggles.

Esther Charlesworth published a book '*Architects Without Frontiers: War, Reconstruction and Design Responsibility*' (Charlesworth 2006), in which she discussed the role of architects within the post-war or post-disaster phase in delivering relief and reconciliation through reconstruction.

Charlesworth emphasized on the efforts of planners, designers and architects in three cities which endured a conflict: Beirut, Nicosia and Mostar. Her work examined not only the physical procedures of reconstruction, but discussed the mental and psychological effects of targeting those cities, and how architecture helped their residents recovering the damages.

In 2007, archaeologist Nicholas Stanley-Price edited a volume which enclosed the papers presented within the second ICCROM FORUM (2005) related to armed conflicts and post-war recovery. His contribution was not limited to editing the publication, but a paper titled '*The Thread of Continuity: Cultural Heritage in Post-war Recovery*' (Stanley-Price 2007), where he provided a rich description on the crucial role of cultural heritage in the immediate post-conflict phase. He claimed that in order for the affected community to recover and heal, national monuments, looted artifacts and traditional practices must be restored. He urged for the integration of heritage in the urgent post-war preparation phase, rather than incorporate it in later phases.

Neal Ascherson published a paper titled '*Cultural Destruction by War, and its Impact on Group Identities*' (Ascherson 2007) as an extended version of the work he presented during the ICCROM FORUM (2005). In his paper he distinguished two types of identity which could be affected during armed conflicts: the first is 'social' that belongs to people and their society, and the second is 'collective' which ties a group of people with their built environment and supports their national belonging. Ascherson discussed the consequences of wars on heritage, and highlighted several examples where monuments where deliberately destroyed with a special focus on events during WWII.

In 2011, Gregory Ashworth published an article '*Preservation, Conservation and Heritage: Approaches to the Past in the Present through the Built Environment*' (Ashworth 2011), in which he echoed many theoretical approaches on viewing the past (here, built environments that survived from earlier periods), in the present. He argued that heritage is not created in the past and does not reflect a historic narrative, but is constructed in the present to serve a certain ideology. Throughout the article, he highlighted the gap between planners, theorists, manages and the public. Unlike the common views on management practices, he debated that the conservation, preservation and heritage paradigms exist simultaneity with one another, and do not replace each other.

The publication of Jerzy Elżanowski '*Ruins, Rubble and Human Remains: Negotiating Culture and Violence in Post-Catastrophic Warsaw*' (Elżanowski 2012), investigated the documentation efforts

of post-war Warsaw. His paper is particularly significant because it sheds light on aspects related to the manipulation of statics, maps and architectural terminology when narrating the historical events of the city's destruction. He argues that surveying the destruction within Warsaw served certain ideologies, and paved the way for the demolition of buildings that sustained damages but were not entirely destroyed. He discussed the re-usage of building-remnants in the reconstruction procedures, and raised questions around the possibility of human remains within the ruins.

Section Four: A more practical approach – case study research

4.1 Dresden

The Stiftung Frauenkirche Dresden published several comprehensive reports on its official website which documented the reconstruction process of the church. '*The Reconstruction of the Frauenkirche: The Return of Dresden's Landmark*,' and '*The Reconstruction of the Frauenkirche: Dates, facts and figures*' detailed both the challenges and rebuilding chronicle, and offered an insight into the whole procedure. The main principles which guided the reconstruction process and the fund that was needed for are specified, as well as the final results until the reopening of the church in 2005.

In 2003, Henry Probert published a thorough biography of Bomber Harris who is considered one of the most controversial military personality of WWII. '*Bomber Harris: His Life and Times*' (Probert 2003) documented Harris's life up to the point when he became the commander in chief of Bomber Command of the Anglo-American campaign during the war, and critically brought to light the historical debates which revolved around him. The book is significant because it offers a wider perspective on the bombing campaign against Germany, most notable on the city of Dresden and clarifies many aspects which were kept a mystery for quite some time.

Sociologist Anja Pannewitz published in German a report '*Die Symbolik der Dresdner Frauenkirche im öffentlichen Gedächtnis. —Eine Analyse von Pressetexten zum Zeitpunkt der Weihe 2005*' (Pannewitz 2006) discussing the reconstruction of Dresden's landmark the Frauenkirche, in which she analyzed the process she called later "memory-construction" by the mass media which was associated with the rebuilding process. The text contained detailed description of the analysis and the reasons for its implementation, as well as documented the results of the GDR-related symbolism of the church.

Professor of history Tami Davis Biddle published an article '*Dresden 1945: Reality, History, and Memory*' (Davis Biddle 2008), discussing the Anglo-American attack on the city which became one of the most significant events of WWII. Biddle's approach in debating the event is complex and multi-layered, she argued that the raids against Dresden were widely misunderstood and manipulated. While she did not deny that the bombing itself was horrific, she claimed that unlike other academic publications which considered the attack 'unjustified,' the raids against Dresden were just another episode of the war, and could be understood within the course of history. The paper documented the attack, the aftermath and the underlying reasons which were examined to a greater extent.

Historian Tony Joel wrote a book chapter '*Reconstruction Over Ruins: Rebuilding Dresden's Frauenkirche*' (Joel 2012), that discussed the debates over the reconstruction of Dresden's most famous cathedral which was destroyed by the Anglo-American bombing in 1945 and became a significant reference for how war-related monuments could be treated. Joel emphasized on the role of the city's residents in demanding the rebuilding of the famous landmark, the importance of the ruins and how it turned into a symbol for resistance and anti-war memorial. The paper surveyed the arguments in favor and against rebuilding the church, and analyzed the rebuilding methods which were utilized to bring the church into its former glory.

In 2013, Tony Joel published his own book about the British/American aerial bombing of Dresden '*The Dresden Firebombing: Memory and the Politics of Commemorating Destruction*' (Joel 2013). With statistics, imagery texts and figures, he critically analyzed the reasons beyond the attack and its alleged aftermath. Joel's work focused on the interpretation of historical events, and brining a broader view on the changing perception of memory and identity especially when addressing the destruction of Dresden and its most famous landmarks. His work highlighted the propaganda aspect which was exploited by the government in East Germany, the significance of the ruins and the reconstruction procedures in the following years.

4.2 Mostar

Jon Calame published a working-paper '*Post-war Reconstruction: Concerns, Models and Approaches*' (Calame 2005), in which he investigated the reconstruction of urban environments in the post-conflict phase. The paper examined not only the destruction consequences on the built structures, but also the psychological effects associates with it and how post-war recovery processes are carried

out. Calame stressed on the urgent need for intervention techniques which could be developed within a comprehensive approach for post-war rebuilding, and which would take into consideration the local needs and capacities. He aimed to moving the discussion out of the academic context, and put it in perspective with the people's visions and usage of recourses. He offers an insight into case studies, most notable is the one in Mostar, where he discussed the historic context of events, the aftermath, who was involved, which decisions were made and for what purposes and so on.

The destruction and reconstruction process of the city of Mostar and its most famous bridge the Stari Most, were detailed to a great extent in the working paper '*Post-conflict reconstruction in Mostar: Cart before the Horse*' written by (Calame and Pasic 2009). The paper assessed the complexity and symbolism of the reconstruction process, and criticized the decisions to focus the funding on rebuilding the bridge rather than investing it in social or pollical recovery. The writers argued that it is true that the city gained its most famous landmark back, but in fact it has never recovered the consequences of the war. The text discussed in numbers and figures the reconstruction procedures, the involvement of the international community, the fund and how it was used and the rebuilding priorities that were favorited and by whom.

Amra Hadțimuhamedović published a paper '*Heritage in Post-war Peace Time – The Case of Bosnia*' (Hadțimuhamedović 2009), in which she examined the process of heritage incorporation into the post-conflict plans. She assessed the basic role that heritage plays in achieving recovery, and both the challenges and potentials for heritage protection in the phase when the conflict is concluded. Hadțimuhamedović analyzed in details the significance of heritage preservation to sustain pre-war social patterns, drawing on the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995. She provided a thorough assessment of the political atmosphere, and the legislations regarding heritage protection and reconstruction within the country in the years that followed the war.

4.3 Beirut

Literary critic Saree Makdisi published two important papers '*Laying Claim to Beirut: Urban Narrative and Spatial Identity in the Age of Solidere*' (Makdisi 1997a), and '*Reconstructing History in Central Beirut*' (Makdisi 1997b), which discussed the 'reconstruction' of Beirut's central district, and identified the vague role of the real-estate company Solidere. Makdisi gave detailed assessment on the initiation of the company, and the corruption within the Lebanese political and economic contexts. He argued against the company's plans for the city center, and documented in numbers

how the reconstruction procedure was manipulated by both the company and its influential chief Rafiq al-Hariri. Makdisi's publications are highly significant because they reflect how the political instability within the post-conflict phase could be abused to serve certain interests, and how creating a modern city center in Beirut benefitted the wealthy Lebanese elite, and ignored the needs of the rest of the population.

Professor of history Ussama Makdisi published a book '*The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon*' (Makdisi 2000) that discussed the history of the sectarian tension during the Ottoman ruling of what is known today as Lebanon. Most notably he discussed the historical events, and the European involvement which pre-dated the 1860 sectarian violence in Lebanon, also known as the civil war of Mount Lebanon. His book is highly significant as it paves the way to acquire a better understanding of the Lebanese society, and it makes a great contribution to the discussion on the role of religions in creating social and national identities in our modern world.

Sara Fregonese discussed in her paper '*The Urbicide of Beirut: Geopolitics and the Built Environment in the Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990)*' (Fregonese 2009), ideas such as national, trans-national and sub-national geopolitical discourses, and how conflicts influence the cities' materiality. The paper brought perspectives on the links between the Lebanese civil war and the Cold War, discussed the nature of Lebanon's state as a product of the Colonial French mandate, and examined other related entangled issues like the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. She used the word 'urbicide' cautiously when referring to the connection between violence and the urban environment, and employed the term to study the Lebanese multi-sites geopolitical categories between the national and subnational accounts.

The book of Caroline Sandes '*Conservation and the City: Post-Conflict Redevelopment in London, Berlin and Beirut*' (Sandes 2010) discussed the post-war redevelopment of the three mentioned cities. In addition to discussing the post-war-reconstruction of Beirut, the division and memorials, Sandes provided a historical perspective of the city that tracked its social, commercial and urban expansion and development since the early 19th century. She paid a special attention to documenting how this 19th century small Ottoman town has become an economic hub, a major Arab city with very complex ethno-religious politics, and a focus of European interests.

Sune Haugbølle wrote a book '*War and Memory in Lebanon*' (Haugbølle 2010), in which he focused on allocating answers for the questions regarding memory, remembrance and amnesia in post-conflict Lebanon. He identified the role of politicians, influential figures and civil society actors in manipulating the memory discourse, and in turn the rebuilding decisions, the absence of war memorials, and the war-related terminology. Haugbølle examined in five chapters Lebanon's history and the formation of the Lebanese national identity, the role of state and non-state actors in the post-conflict negotiations which led to forcing an amnesia-oriented reconstruction, and adopting the 'war of others' and 'self-victimization' narratives.

4.4 Freiburg

Archaeologist and art historian Bernhard Vedral wrote the book '*Altstadtsanierung und Wiederaufbauplanung in Freiburg 1925-1951*' (Vedral 1985), which was dedicated to the 100th birthday of Joseph Schlippe, Freiburg's director of the communal construction and planning department who was responsible for the reconstruction of the old city following WWII. The publication covered in detail the historical, architectural, as well as cultural identity of the city. Vedral analyzed in depth the achievements of Schlippe, whose work in the field of urban renewal in the 1930s would later create the base for the city's post-war reconstruction.

The city of Freiburg published '*Freiburg 1944-1994 Zerstörung und Wiederaufbau*' (Stadt Freiburg 1994), as a collection of articles authored by well-known experts, which documented the different phases of Freiburg's urban development and the reconstruction of its old city following WWII. The authors delivered insightful analysis of the situation of Freiburg's old city prior to the war, as well as the scale of damage following the allied bombing in November 1944. The detailed perceptions of the planning process, and design concepts are of great value for an integrated understanding of the complex reconstruction procedures which were implemented under Joseph Schlippe's guidance and leadership.

Professor of architectural conservation Leo Schmidt published an article '*Der Wiederaufbau der Freiburger Innenstadt nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: Denkmalpflege damals und heute*' (Schmidt 1995), in which he documented Freiburg's pre-war identity, morphology and urban characteristics. He highlighted the post-war debates and challenges for rebuilding the old city center, and explained the roots of the reconstruction plan. Schmidt analyzed Schlippe's work, and reflected on his

approach which entitled the rebuilding the buildings of high significance, and permitting the construction of new structures that would fit and blend into the historical image of Freiburg.

Section Five: Perspectives of Syria's modern history - the revolution and its aftermath

Samar Batrawi published a study '*Drivers of Urban Reconstruction in Syria: Power, Privilege and Profit Extraction*' (Batrawi 2018), which examined Syria's current political and economic situation. Batrawi mapped the damages within the country, and translated the aftermath of the conflict into statistics and figures. She investigated the debate on the country's physical reconstruction which is carried out by the Syrian regime and its head al-Assad, as well as its allies Russia and Iran. She questions the protentional involvement of Europa's policy makers, and the dilemma they are facing between wanting to aid the reconstruction efforts, and being ethically constrained as the country is still under an authoritarian ruling.

Emile Hokayem's book '*Syria's Uprising and the Fracturing of the Levant*' (Hokayem 2013) documented the Syrian experience within the wave of popular unrest of the Arab Spring which turned into an armed conflict and a full-scale civil war. He analyzed the political situation in Syria prior to the uprising, and detailed the civil movement against the country's leader al-Assad. He identified the multi-layered international foreign involvement, and the different interests which went beyond the civil uprising. Hokayem's book is highly informative and detailed, as it provides a better understanding of the Syrian apolitical society, its mobilization and how it was radicalized and militarized as time passed.

Economic expert Jihad Yazigi published a study '*Destruct to Reconstruct; How the Syrian Regime Capitalises on Property Destruction and Land* Legislation' (Yazigi 2017), where he examined the destruction patterns within Syria's urban settlements and brought to light aspects that have not been discussed before. According to Yazigi, the Syrian regime targeted opposition-held neighbourhoods with the aim of terrorizing the opposition-supportive communities. He analyzed many new legislations and regulations by the regime regarding property rights, and rebuilding schemes which guarantee the capitalization of the destruction to make economic benefits. He raised questions related to the right of returnees, and their potential involvement in any future plans.

Section Six: Assessment of Aleppo's historic fabric

In 1941, French historian Jean Sauvaget published a book in French '*Alep. Essai sur le développement d'une grande ville Syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle*' (Sauvaget 1941), that was translated in the beginning of the 1980s into Arabic. The book provided in-depth documentation of Aleppo's history within the Ottoman era, and detailed the significance of many of its monuments and morphological profile. The contribution of Sauvaget is highly important, because it documented the urban growth of Aleppo with text and enclosed maps within the publication, and reflected Aleppo's expansion beyond the old walls and the ancient city gates.

Jean-Claude David wrote in 1975 a paper in French that examined the social and physical transformations within the city of Aleppo. His work contributed to the documentation of the traditional open courtyard houses, where he developed a map for their physical features and locations within the city. His text was translated to Arabic in 2005 by Mahmoud Hreitani, an Aleppine researcher who added his own contribution as a second part, and published it as a book under the title '*The Old City in Aleppo – The Deterioration and the Revival Attempts*' (David and Hreitani 2005).

In 1980, UNESCO appointed a committee led by Swiss historian Stefano Bianca, in collaboration with Jean-Claude David and other experts to produce a comprehensive report on the old city of Aleppo. The report '*The Conservation of the Old City of Aleppo*' (Bianca et al. 1980) was published in English and documented the city's history, population, monuments, urban expansion and transformations. It provided information on the previous attempts to rehabilitate the old quarters, proposed masterplans and outlined new strategies. It concluded with several recommendations for the different neighborhoods, and enclosed appendixes on the records of demolitions within the old city.

Luna Khirfan wrote a book '*World Heritage, Urban Design and Tourism Three Cities in the Middle East*' (Khirfan 2014) that offered an insightful overview on the connection between heritage conservation and tourism-related activities within historic cities. The book investigated three Middle Eastern cities, Aleppo in Syria, Acre in Palestine, and Salt in Jordan. Her work examined the rehabilitation attempts, the conservation challenges, as well as the social and touristic development within those cities, and offered a new approach that balances between tourism policies and the rehabilitation/conservation of the historic urban towns.

In 2018, a collaboration between UNESCO and UNITAR concluded a report '*Five years of conflict: the state of cultural heritage in the Ancient City of Aleppo; A comprehensive multi-temporal satellite imagery-based damage analysis for the Ancient City of Aleppo*' (UNESCO and UNITAR 2018), which documented old Aleppo's most prominent landmarks, their history and significance, and assessed their damages due to the conflict. This publication is considered the sole document on Aleppo, in which the technology of satellite imagery was employed alongside on-site visits to reflect the damages in percentages and figures. A team of several experts on the topic examined monuments, singular historic structures, the old city's fabric and many of its significant components and provided a thorough damage assessment and current state.

Digital initiatives, virtual archives and social media platforms were used to a great extent within this section of the work, Reports, videos and images were analyzed and referenced from several sources, especially those documenting the violations, attacks, and damage assessment of Aleppo. The media coverage of the Syrian conflict is critical as it enabled the author to reflect on the sequence of events, and develop a better understanding on the situation. For instance, the work of *the Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology* (APSA), was very important for documenting the violations against Syria's cultural heritage sites, most notably within the old city of Aleppo. The reports made by *Heritage for Peace*, offered a deep-insight on the involvement of the national and international community in the Syrian relief-mission, it detailed the involved actors and their main responsibilities.

5 State of Research

Section One: Memory, identity and cultural heritage

The memory discourse and the understanding of its role in forming people's identity have changed drastically in the past half century, and what was perceived for years as a rigid abstract concept, evolved into a dynamic vital notion. Analyzing the main discussions that affected, and continue to influence the entangled memory and identity dialogues is fundamental when seeking in-depth understanding for heritage conservation and its essence.

Authors such as Halbwachs (1950), Lynch (1960), Rossi (1982), Lowenthal (1985), Nora (1989), are considered pioneers within the memory realms, and have discussed the dynamics of memory in relation to social groups and their built environments. While Halbwachs (1950) coined the term 'collective memory,' Lynch (1960) drew on memory and its emphasis within materiality, Rossi

(1982) complemented Lynch's work and discussed the city beyond its physical monuments, by highlighting the significance of the past for understanding the urban settings, Lowenthal (1985) shifted the focus into including individuals' perception of both historical events and surrounding environments, and Nora (1989) introduced the notion of 'sites of memory' where individuals can experience the past in a tangible sense. The connection between physical spaces and people's behaviour was recached by Altman (1993), Dovey (1999), and Harvey (2006). The distinction between the types of memories was evident in Bal's publication (1999), and Assmann's work (2003) and (2011), which discussed memory in relation to the past, and historic monuments. It was however until Crinson (2005) published a book which provided a clear assessment of modern architecture and memory, that bridged the two concepts in a balanced way.

The manifestation of the past as 'cultural heritage,' and the widespread usage of this term were researched by many authors such as Sullivan (2003), Harrington (2004), Jokilehto (2005), and most notably in the work of Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007), Stefano and Corsane (2008), Viejo-Rose (2015) who analyzed the essential role of heritage in identity formation. The importance of heritage and its extensive destruction in the time of conflicts were addressed by Bevan (2006), Milligan (2008) and Brosché, et al. (2017), while Bevan (2006) focused on the deliberate destruction of heritage in relation to ethnic and cultural cleansing, Milligan (2008) chose case studies where the reasons vary and sometimes were not explained, Brosché, et al. (2017) on the other hand, created a typology of reasons for such destruction, and argued for the collateral nature of some attacks. Though Lemkin (1944) coined the term genocide, its meanings and cultural associations were researched further within the work of Morsink (1999), Power (2002), Segesser and Gessler (2005), and Moses (2008). The offences against heritage formed the heart of Riedlmayer's work (2002), Bevan (2006), both were inspired by Lemkin and allocated his work with a cultural reference to the aggressions within WWII and the Balkan War.

In relation to literature review on heritage destruction and protection, international documents like the two Hague Conventions (1899) and (1907), the Hague Convention and its First Protocol (1954) and Second Protocol (1999), the World Heritage Convention (1972), the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (2002), the Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage (2003), are fundamental references. By tracing the advancement of legal instruments like these, and how their language progressed throughout the years, one could track the sequence of historic events and employ it into a modern context.

The literature provided by the above-mentioned sources covered all the aspects related to the discussed topics, however several issues and conflicts arose in many areas. Most importantly when researching the definition of the word 'heritage,' how it is being perceived differently in the various academic domains, and within the debates on the notion of heritage politicization. Analyzing the legal framework for cultural heritage protection proved the insufficiency, and the lack of any legal tool to enforce the conventions' principles. It was noted that until today, and with reflection on the Syrian case, there is a critical gap between theories and practicality which cannot be overlooked and must be uncovered when developing future legal instruments.

Section Two: a typology of values

Heritage management processes are complex and entangled with many other aspects, understanding the essential role of heritage is one step, the other is related to heritage values and significance which paves the way for implementing the most appropriate approach. This section of the work draws extensively on terminology, principles and notions that were included within the Burra Charter (1999), where the term 'cultural significance' was firstly introduced. The significance of heritage within the field of archeological management was researched to a great extent within Mason's work (2002). Mason summed up the values of heritage and created a typology for it, in line with his work is de la Torre's publication (2005), and Pereira Roders (2007). The work aligned with introducing the concept of value-based approach, which was researched by Worthing and Bond (2007), implemented and reflected on within the publication of Myers et al. (2010).

The World Heritage Convention (1972) took the word significance into an international level with the concept of outstanding universal value, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2005) defined the criteria for a heritage asset to acquire this value. Lafrenz Samuels (2008) questioned the essence of the word 'significance' and offered a counter-argument on its possible appropriation, Poulios (2010) criticized the hierarchy in identifying the different stakeholders in the value-based approach, and underlined the probable abuse of this concept, the involvement of the different stakeholders in managing heritage was investigated by Van der Linde (2012).

The combined analysis of the literature within this section reflected dichotomy in understanding heritage values and its position within the conservation field, and even though the two are interrelated, there have been many conflicting views on the ways heritage assets should be managed.

While it was argued that the value-based approach is the most appropriate, the author noted the possibility of misusing this approach to display more dominance from those who are in power, and deciding for heritage management processes, as well as the difficulty of implementing this approach when the historic fabric is damaged to a great extent. That is why the contribution of the Cottbus Document (2017) is fundamental, as it sustains the principles of the Burra Charter and covers the gap by providing clear guidelines for managing cultural heritage which is affected by conflicts.

Section Three: Conceptualizing post-conflict reconstruction

The sheer scale of damage and offences against cities and their monuments within WWII, ignited the debates over the fate of the ruins and their significance. Arguing that the significant buildings should be rebuilt as a copy of the damaged ones is one approach which was discussed within Charlesworth (2006) publication, especially when documenting the case of reconstruing Warsaw's historic center, Ascherson (2007) investigated the historic event and reflected on the reconstruction process and how it was carried out, but the most valuable text on the matter was written by Elżanowski (2012) who investigated the manipulation of the documentation efforts, and argued against the authenticity of the vastly-celebrated center. Charlesworth (2006) discussed the second reconstruction method which permits some radical changes, drawing on Donald Gibson's work in reconstruing the city center of Coventry.

The rebuilding of post-war Germany was researched extensively by Diefendorf (1993), while he described the concept of 'ideal cities,' Mumford (2000) explained the planning principles of the 'functional cities.' The various approaches for rebuilding Berlin were discussed within Castillo's work (2001), and Ladd (2005). While approaches varied between creating replicas or rebuilding anew, Woods (2001) and (2011) had his own progressive notion against reconstruction, and called for respecting the historical events which could manifest in some architectural damage. Holtorf (2006), Anheier and Isar (2007), had the same vision and considered destruction a part of history which should not be denied by reconstruction. Although the work Lefebvre (1991), Bevan (2006), and Viejo-Rose (2007), highlighted the role of politics in deciding for the reconstruction processes, and the possible manipulation over such decisions, Smith (2006), and Ashworth (2007) questioned the notion of 'heritage,' and considered its construction and reconstruction a politically-led tool. While Soroka (1994) advocated for little to no intervention when it comes to preservation of heritage, Meskell (2002) and Schmidt (2005), highlighted some instances where less intervention led to the creation of a stronger bond with the past. Stanley-Price (2007) stressed on the necessity

of the immediate integrating of heritage in the post-conflict plans, Barakat (2007) echoed his work and emphasized on the significance of heritage recovery for people's wellbeing.

International documents that discussed or mentioned the concept of reconstruction could be summarized as follows: Venice Charter (1964), Nara Document (1994), the Riga Charter (2000), and, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2005). Those documents were analyzed by the author in relation to the above-mentioned arguments, and are essential to create a deeper-understating of the necessity of heritage reconstruction and how it should be carried out.

Examining the literature reflected a profound conflict within the heritage field in viewing the notion of heritage reconstruction, between advocating for it or standing against it, the debated issues do not seem to reach a closure. The main difficulty within this section was the attempt to review most of the debates which needed extensive research in order to pile the information in a way that provides the reader with clear vision on the presented arguments.

Section Four: A more practical approach – case study research

4.1 Dresden

Dresden was researched extensively within both German and international literature, while the interpretation of events vary according to the source, the author paid excessive attention to highlighting many different views on the matter.

While Clayton (1997), and Wagner (2000) discussed the attack on Dresden and its aftermath, Reichert (2000), and Ten Dyke (2001) detailed in numbers and figures the estimated causalities between human deaths and physical damages of the city's structures. Taylor (2005) considered the attack an 'unjustifiable crime of war', both Probert (2003), and Biddle (2008) brought other perspectives on the raid, and considered it another episode within WWII that was serving certain military purposes. Joel (2012) and (2013), researched the historic event, its outcome, and the reconstruction efforts. Within his two publications he used both apologetical and inaccurate semantics, especially when claiming that the raids on Dresden merely aimed to destroying a 'symbol for the German nation.'

The situation in Dresden between 1945 and 1990 was documented within Paul's publication (1989), and Wolfel (2012). While the debates over the Frauenkirche's remnants, their meanings and the church's future were discussed by Sørensen and Viejo-Rose (2015), the rebuilding principles, costs and other technical challenges were shared and updated by the Stiftung Frauenkirche Dresden (n.d), and detailed by Paul (1989) as well. Stoll (2002) conducted a study which brought the new and the old church into comparison and documented the alternations, and so had Bartetzky (2003). Jarzombek (2004) underlined several aspects related to the rebuilding of the church, he questioned both its authenticity and the claim that 40% of the stones used in the new building were 'original', the same notion was discussed by Rheidt and Schmidt (2016).

While the rebuilding and reopening of the church were vastly celebrated by both the Germans and the world, many important aspects were overshadowed and left out. It was until the publication of Pannewitz (2006), which analyzed the media coverage back then, that the propaganda aspect for rebuilding the Frauenkirche was brought into light. Generally speaking, when analyzing the majority of texts on the event, one could conclude that the terminology used when addressing the attack on Dresden is quite apologetical, and neglects to mention the role of Germans as aggressors within the war. The celebrated 'new' church fails to answer to many problematic aspects related to the accuracy and authenticity of its reproduced structure.

4.2 Mostar

There is a considerable amount of publications that document the destruction of cultural heritage within the Balkan war between 1992 and 1995, the total destruction of the Stari Most bridge of Mostar is often referred to when discussing the crimes against the country's heritage. While most of the texts celebrate the rebuilding process which resulted in creating a replica of the original bridge, other entangled aspects were not fully discussed nor debated.

The significance of the city of Mostar and its most famous bridge were documented by Grabrijan and Neidhardt (1957), Riedlmayer (1995), and Krishnamurthy (2012). The war and its consequences were detailed in Bublin's work (1999), Bevan (2006), and Raos (2010). While Coward (2008), and Walasek (2015) documented the historic events and hostilities within that war, they argued that the destruction of the bridge was due to its symbolic value, Forde (2016) claimed that it was because of its function as a connection between the city's two sides.

Calame (2005) documented the post-conflict phase in Mostar, Hadţimuhamedović (2009) quantified in numbers the offences committed against the country's cultural heritage assets, and offered details on the post-conflict efforts to assess the damages. UNESCO (1997) authorized a committee to supervise the reconstruction of the bridge, The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (2004) published a booklet for the reconstruction efforts, and while its language was praising both the procedure and the involvement of the international community, the work of Calame and Pasic (2009) underlined several negative aspects of the process and detailed the contested narrative of the bridge's reconstruction between the international agencies, and the locals of Mostar.

Reviewing the literature on Mostar, the author found it extremely difficult to bring counterarguments against the rebuilding of the bridge. The arguments displayed by Calame and Pasic (2009) remain a minority within the discourse on Mostar's reconstructions. While the bridge succeeded in connecting the city physically, the narrative that it has connected the conflicting parts of the war is vague, and by interviewing many Mostarians, have proved to be fabricated.

4.3 Beirut

Beirut's reconstruction project was and still is a debatable matter, between rebuilding and recreating anew, many questions were left without answers. This section of the research looks at the sequence of events which led to adopting Solidere's plans, and the arguments in favor and against the project. Hence, a large part of the literature review aimed to highlight the memory discourse in Lebanon, and how it was influenced by the political atmosphere.

Davie (1993), and Makdisi (2000), analyzed the historical roots of sectarianism within Lebanon, and how it manifested physically in barriers within Beirut in the civil war period, Picard (2002) discussed the reasons and the aftermath of the Lebanese war, Kalyvas (2005) provided theories on civil wars, and how warfare is fought and its relation to the patterns of violence with focusing on Lebanon. Fregonese (2009) highlighted notions as geopolitical meanings, with national, trans-national and sub-national geopolitical discourses within Lebanon, Sandes (2010) provided in numbers the outcome and losses of the civil war, Najem (2012) investigated Lebanon's history, society, politics, economy and foreign policy in a wider perspective.

The memory discourse in post-conflict Lebanon and how it was reflected within Solidere's plans to reconstruct the city center were researched by Nagel (2002) that focused on Solidere's own perspective of memory, Haugbølle (2010) discussed the terminology, narrative and political-

control that guided the rebuilding plans, and Makarem (2012) which highlighted the absence of war memorials.

Tabet (1993), Makdisi (1997), Schmid (2006), Nasr and Verdeil (2008), Larkin (2009), and Randall (2014) detailed the role of Solidere, Lebanon's elite and the political atmosphere in influencing the reconstruction project. While Tabet (1993) discussed Solidere's vision and how it was developed throughout the years, Makdisi (1997) reflected on creating an isolated island of the central district, and how the Lebanese people perceived this move, Schmid (2006) stressed on the manipulation of ownership-shares by Solidere, Nasr and Verdeil (2008) overviewed the failed attempts before Solidere's plan was adopted, Larkin (2009) researched the widespread civil movement against the company and the project, and lastly Randall (2014) discussed al-Hariri's role in both the company and the government, and the corruption of the state.

While the majority of literature critiques reflected on the negative aspect of Solidere's plans, Gavin and Maluf (1996), and Gavin (1998) stood behind the project and detailed its positive aspects as a counterargument. While the rebuilding of the Souks was critically examined and reflected upon by Makdisi (1997), Solidere (2008) (2010) (2011) published several booklets that offered insight into its celebrated project, Humphreys (2015) discussed the rebuilding of the area surrounding the Martyr Square.

The literature analysis of this part showed a fundamental gap between the official and the intellectual assessment of events, while Solidere always used a sympathetic positive language in portraying its approach and means for rebuilding the city center, the issues of political manipulation, corruption and false accounts are often raised within texts against both the company and its project. While many publications intended to expose and document the practical aspects of the project, others focused on analyzing the social and political sides of it, the author aimed to bridge these two in order to create a better understanding between the official narrative, discourse and public positions.

4.4 Freiburg

While the international literature widely discussed and studied the destruction and reconstruction of many German cities after WWII, the city of Freiburg was often ignored and barely mentioned. The limited numbers of publications posed a challenge for the author to conduct the study, but was gladly overcome with the assist of the German texts.

While Vedral (1985), and Baier (2017) documented Freiburg's pre-war historical, architectural, and cultural identity, Schmidt (1995) focused on the city's morphology and the 'Freiburger Bürgerhaus' in particular. The destruction of Freiburg was documented by Stadelbauer (1994) who provided in numbers and figures the aftermath of the Anglo-American raids to include both deaths and physical destruction of the city. Stadt Freiburg (1994) documented the destruction of the significant historical buildings, and the situation within the immediate post-war phase, Schmidt (1995) brought into light the debates on the way Freiburg should be rebuilt and the roots of the reconstruction plan. Diefendorf (1993), Stadelbauer (1994), Stadt Freiburg (1994), and Schmidt (1995) discussed and detailed Schlippe's plan for revitalization and reconstruction of the historic city center.

True that the reconstruction of the city of Freiburg is considered exemplary in many aspects, the author was able to locate only one English-written source Diefendorf (1993), that mentioned the city and its reconstruction process. Drawing on this exclusion of Freiburg, it could be argued that the international literature is biased in its coverage of historic events. While most of the publications document the bombing of Dresden and portray it as one of the worst cases, many other war-torn cities are being neglected even though they sustained worse damages than the ones of Dresden's.

Section Five: Perspectives of Syria's modern history - the revolution and its aftermath

Analysing Syria's political history and the reasons for its popular apprising, are vital for understanding the contexts of both the conflict and its outcome. While the publications are quite limited, the author managed to compile information from books, journals and even media platforms.

The work of Hourani (1968), Khoury (1987), and Saghieh (2011) are quite informative and insightful on the country's political history, while Hourani (1968) focused on Syria's history within the Ottoman era, Khoury (1987) discussed the French Mandate and its policies, Parker (1962) analyzed the attempt to create the 'United Arab Republic' between Syria and Egypt, and Saghieh (2011) analyzed the modern Syrian history and its characteristics.

Library of Congress (2005) published a report about Syria's political history until Bashar al-Assad came into power, Human Rights Watch's (2006) booklet discussed Syria's social, economic and political situation prior to the war, Hokayem (2013) examined the Syrian uprising and detailed the international involvement and its interests. Both Wakely (2008), and Clerc (2013) studied Syria's

urban population and informal settlements, Balanche (2018) examined the role of sectarianism in igniting the conflict. Yazigi (2017) examined Syria's economic situation, and the destruction of Syria's cities how it is being politically misappropriated by the regime to create financial gains, Batrawi (2018) published in numbers and statistics the outcome of the conflict, and examined the involvement of many foreign countries in the post-conflict phase.

It was important for the author to shed light on many misunderstood and miscommunicated aspects related to the Syrian uprising, while the conflict is still ongoing many significant texts are made available especially through media platforms.

Section Six: Assessment of Aleppo's historic fabric

Considering Aleppo's history, and how the city was shaped during the centuries is highly significant for developing an enhanced understanding of its recent phase and future rebuilding plans. While the old city of Aleppo was highly celebrated for its significance, many of the negative aspects within its borders were either ignored or avoided. The conflict has caused a considerable damage to the city's physical and psychological structures, and the need for comprehensive reconstruction plans which take into consideration the pre-war identity, is more urgent than ever.

Sauvaget's publication (1941) examined Aleppo's history and documented its growth beyond the city walls and gates, Bianca et al. (1980) analyzed the city's history, population, monuments, and transformations, David and Hreitani (2005) examined the social and physical changes with special focus on the documentation of the traditional open courtyard houses, Bianca (2000) researched the city's urban expansion, Kunzendorf and Attfield (2010) wrote about the population and social aspects of old Aleppo, as well as the city in the 20th century.

Windelberg et al. (2001) discussed the rehabilitation project of old Aleppo, Khirfan (2014) critically analyzed the rehabilitation attempts which lasted between 1994 and 2010, the conservation challenges, and the touristic development within the old quarters. Old Aleppo's monuments were documented by Al-Ghazzi (1952), Talas (1957), and Tabaa (1997) who documented the Umayyad mosque, Gonnella (2008) worked on the citadel, Burns (2009) on the covered market. The conflict, the destruction and daily-updates were made available through media platforms, UN-Habitat (2014) published a booklet about the city's overall situation, the damage assessment within the old city was detailed to a great extent within UNESCO and UNITAR's report (2018). The current efforts to document the history and present state of the Syrian cultural

heritage were provided in the publication of Perini and Cunliffe (2014), as well as Al-Quntar and Daniels (2016).

As the Syrian conflict is still ongoing, the damage assessment figures within Aleppo are yet to be calculated. The research builds on extensive reports covering different levels of conflict-related aspects, and while the author aimed to address most of the available material, many new texts were being produced at the same time as the research was being conducted. Therefore, many of the information included within this section need to be updated and reflected upon in the following phases.

6 Limitations

Regarding the situation in Syria, a general lack of information and transparency exists within the current crisis — among the local and international professionals — in exchanging and providing external researchers with data that would generate benefit to the Syrians and their cultural heritage. The exclusion of the Syrians in diaspora from any future rebuilding plans guided by the government is becoming more evident as time passes, regardless of the visible opportunity to integrate all the needed capacity; their participation is left with a halt. As a result, researchers have been forced to limit their work to theoretical literature context, and explore methodologies which might be, in some cases, not applicable in the Syrian context.

Beginning with this observation, Syria is within its 'Stunde Null' phase, and the rebuilding projects are scattered around the Syrian cities, but the limitation of not being on the ground, and not having access to what is taking place there is rather challenging. The situation is changing rapidly, and being an observer rather than a participant might have had its toll on the flow of information. The only way to keep up was by tracing and examining media reports and imagery which are emerging in unsteady order.

There is a deficiency of conveying the damages within the old city, due to that the damage assessment processes are relatively limited to some areas; therefore, the levels of destruction are yet to be quantified. With this in mind, identifying the values of the remaining fabric is impossible, and the focus of the study was shifted into documenting the pre-war significance of structures with what is known about their current physical state.

The combined process of the different case studies has been analysed utilizing empirical surveys, archival work, interviews, and documents. The case study research of each city was conducted to reflect a specific issue that was of interest to the author concerning the topic. The different urban typologies; the level of damages, rebuilding methods and, not examining an overall compacted approach, present a limitation of the study. Thus, Dresden is limited to being merely an example for the issue of war memorials and post-conflict narrating; Mostar discusses the concept of the fixation of the international community on rebuilding iconic heritage property as a way to achieve reconciliation; Beirut adopts a 'tabula rasa' strategy and removed all evidence of the conflict and finally, Freiburg that reflects an example of how to retain a historic fabric even when building anew.

The information presented in this section lacked actual site surveys and relied on observations, site-visits, empirical reviews, and relevant documents, having said that, further research is needed to provide resolution and affirmation for some of the issues raised throughout the studies. The study concluded that the claim, that a value-based approach revolves around placing people's interests as a key for conservation practices; and that it manages the conflicting interests and values of the different stakeholders, is void and impractical. Conversely, it does give superiority to the authorities to identify all the stakeholders, records, methods, structures, and even their values.

The decisions regarding the management of the conservation projects are at the hand of the legal authorities, which decide what stakeholders and which values to preserve and their role in the monitoring and implementation phase. This exclusivity of power might turn the value-based approach from a tool which neutralizes interests and involvement, into a biased instrument which favors specific stakeholders and their values and neglects the rest. With no possibility to identify the 'actual' stakeholders involved in the rebuilding projects in old Aleppo, the proposed scenario is limited to identifying the 'possible' stakeholders and their responsibilities, as well as developing a dynamic frame for the collaborative rebuilding process.

1 Section One: Memory, identity and cultural heritage

"The past is everywhere. All around us lie features which, like ourselves and our thoughts, have more or less recognizable antecedents. Relics, histories, memories suffuse human experience. Whether it is celebrated or rejected, attended to or ignored, the past is omnipresent."

(Lowenthal 1985, p.xv)

While identity has been described as an essential precarious pursuit for what could connect and disconnect a group of individuals on both local and universal levels (Insoll 2007, p.1), memory was defined as the ability to maintain and evoke events and learnt knowledge of the past by the act of immediate recollection (Crinson 2005, p.xii).

Memory plays a critical role in forming and sustaining both individual and collective identity. With this in mind, there are many distinct types of memory: the one related to the individual's past and significant events of childhood; or personal related to a family member; or memory with a social nature which relies on a particular collective history of the social group to which one belongs. Both memory and past knowledge change when addressed by different social environments or cultures, societies could determine individual memories but cannot own these memories. In other words, societies do not have a memory but have what is known as "social frames" which comprises all the values obtained from past experiences of this specific community (Assmann 2003, pp.163-4).

Memory has strong ties with the incidents and events that occurred in one's lifetime; therefore, it is argued that solid memories could be created as a result of the daily interaction between individuals and the built environment. This type of memory relies on the knowledge gathered by people while experiencing the surrounding areas, these experiences vary according to the scale of the place and the intensity of the interaction with it, whether it is a street one has once walked through or a building that has been used regularly (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, p.5).

People tend to identify themselves depending on the experiences they encountered, the memories they created and the effects of the fabricated setting on these past events. Both the visible and invisible aspects play an essential role in forming a certain memory and the way this memory is

being recollected. Mark Crinson recognizes two conjoined traits of memory: The first depends on precise remains of old events, which an individual experienced at some point of his life and still can actively track, the second, hangs on one's capability to evoke the past (Crinson 2005, p.xii).

According to the French historian Pierre Nora, people are interested in the past because of the rising curiosity in understanding the close linkage between collective awareness, identity and memory on the one hand, and people's recognition of their history and events of that past on the other. Nora suggests that the memories we store have nothing to do with our personal experiences, but rather related to what has been saved in the archives and based on the reconstruction and presentation of these documents by the discourse analysis. He states that (2002, p.1): "We are witnessing a world-wide upsurge in memory. Over the last twenty or twenty-five years, every country, every social, ethnic or family group, has undergone a profound change in the relationship it traditionally enjoyed with the past."

One's ability to remember has changed as a response to the acceleration of history and social events. The modern memory, in this case, relies on material and specifics and is not necessarily real and history has taken another definition "what we today call "memory" – a form of memory that is itself a reconstruction- is simply what was called "history" in the past" (Nora 2002, p.5).

According to the American historian, David Lowenthal, some past experiences are unpleasant and; therefore, might be forgotten. Based on the needs of the present, people tend to forget and recollect incident of the past: "Memories are not ready-made reflections of the past, but eclectic, selective reconstructions" (1985, p.210). Architecture critic Robert Bevan, states that in order to reclaim an identity and narrative of the past, many memories could be reconstructed "what is remembered, both individually and collectively, is partial and not necessarily accurate in an attempt to create a meaningful, coherent narrative and identity" (Bevan 2006, p.176).

1.1 Culture, memory and cultural memory

Within the book, *In Acts of Memory*, cultural theorist Mieke Bal defines cultural memory as a term that (1999, p.vii): "signifies that memory can be understood as a cultural phenomenon as well as an individual or social one." In her opinion, one cannot grasp the importance of memory formation without understanding the process of cultural memorization which she refers to as "an activity occurring in the present, in which the past is continuously modified and re-described even as it continues to shape the future." The memorization process includes many aspects such as

recollecting the past then narrating it in the present and imagining it in the future (Bal, Crewe, and Spitzer 1999, p.vii):

> Neither remnant, document, nor relic of the past, nor floating in a present cut off from the past, cultural memory, for better or for worse, links the past to the present and the future. The memorial presence of the past takes many forms and serves many purposes, ranging from conscious recall to un-reflected re-emergence, from nostalgic longing for what is lost to polemical use of the past to reshape the present. The interaction between present and past that is the stuff of cultural memory is, however, the product of collective agency rather than the result of psychic or historical accident. Cultural memory is not merely something of which you happen to be a bearer but something that you actually perform, even if, in many instances, such acts are not consciously and willfully contrived.

Assmann's research on the relationship between culture and memory concluded that "cultural memory is a kind of institution." He clarifies his claim by explaining that this type of memory is "exteriorized, objectified, and stored away in symbolic forms." Cultural memory in this sense can be moved from a situation to another or transmitted to the future generations. He coined the term "carriers of memory" in reference to external objects and explained that the memory humans have is mind-created and exists as a result of the constant interaction with other people's memories and those external symbols and objects (Assmann 2011, pp.110-1).

In explaining his concept of memory carriers, Assmann writes: "Things do not 'have' a memory of their own, but they may remind us, may trigger our memory, because they carry memories which we have invested into them." Cultural memory is established when societies tend to 'make' a memory which they do not 'have,' and here the significance of external objects increases, because it is -in this case- used by the groups as a reminder, such as historic monuments, archives and libraries (2011, p.111).

Cultural memory shares common qualities with collective memory, the first is shared among the members of a certain group and provides them with a sense of a collective cultural identity. However, a clear distinction is made by the two by Halbwachs who kept his definition on the nature of collective memory apart from customs and traditions, transmission between situations and even transference to the future generations, which clearly contradicts the concept of cultural memory (Assmann 2011, p.110).

1.2 Collective memory and the built environment

The notion of community was perceived historically to include people who inhabited an identified geographical area, like a city or a neighborhood within. This perception has evolved in accordance with globalization and the development of modern technologies. Current communication and mobility techniques allowed people with shared interests to start interacting and relating to other groups even though they do not inhabit the same place. In this regard, the sense of community transformed from representing the shared feeling of belonging among group members to "reflect the symbolic interaction in which people engage as they use aspects of the physical environment" (Butterworth 2000, p.iii).

In order to display a sense of community, individuals tend to use symbols of the urban fabric they share such as landmarks and other prominent buildings that people of this specific group identify with collectively. The shared daily life of a community is enclosed in the city and its urban elements and even though these components have a great effect on our decisions and actions, people might not grasp their importance. According to Professor of architecture and urban design, Kim Dovey, our behaviour and activities are shaped by the built urban fabric and through these structures we associate specific meanings and values. It is often that these buildings and spaces are decided upon by those who have power over the resources and would like to shape a certain narrative (Dovey 1999, p.1):

> The built environment reflects the identities, differences and struggles of gender, class, race, culture and age. It shows the interests of people in empowerment and freedom, the interests of the state in social order, and the private corporate interest in stimulating consumption.

When a certain community develop a feeling of attachment and belonging to a certain physical place, like a city, town or neighborhood, a sense of collective identity is created. This feeling of belonging is deep-rooted in human history as "people do not simply look out over a landscape and say 'this belongs to me.' They say, 'I belong to this.' Concern for familiar topography, for the places one knows, is not about the loss of a commodity, but about the loss of identity" (Jacobs 1995, p.109).

The personal experiences of those inhabiting a certain place form a social memory and identity of that place. In pursuance for creating a shared memory for the city fabric, all these individual memories and experiences are condensed collectively. The memory of the city in this sense is not

limited to the material components like buildings and streets, but extends to cover the interaction between these built structures and the residents of the city. Once a collective memory for the city is created, an identity for those experiencing the urban fabric could be traced. This memory is known to last for ages and assist people with identifying themselves and discovering who they really are (Crinson 2005, p.xii).

A community tends to underline its collective identity using the surrounding built environment; the city which emotional and cultural image is created through its buildings, streets and spaces. The city as defined by Crinson (2005, p.xii): "a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city's sequential building and rebuilding." A space or a territory is considered significant when people associate memories with it, in other words the importance of a place is not reflected through what is visible but relies on the invisible. Urban historian, Dolores Hayden, casts much importance on the role urban structures play in storing social memories, she considers "streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes" (Hayden 1995, p.9).

French philosopher and sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs, was one of the pioneers in shifting the discussion of memory from personal and individual to give it a collective sense when associated with social groups and communities. According to Halbwachs memory is one of the realms that supports a mutual feeling of attachment between those sharing a common tangible place and intangible experiences connected to that place which in turn contributes to creating a collective identity. This common memory in his opinion, depends on spatial distribution. Halbwachs 1950 (Quoted in Rossi 1982, p.30) states that:

> When a group is introduced into a part of space, it transforms it to its image, but at the same time, it yields and adapts itself to certain material things which resist it. It encloses itself in the framework that it has constructed. The image of the exterior environment and the stable relationships that it maintains with it pass into the realm of the idea that it has of itself.

In his most influential book, *On Collective Memory*, Halbwachs suggests that "general history starts only when tradition ends and social memory is fading or breaking up" (1950, p.139). This idea was echoed in Nora's work and his concept of 'sites of memory' in which he argues that modernity causes many memory aspects to disappear and puts sites of memories in their place. He states that (Nora 1989, p.7):

> Our interests in lieux de mémoire, sites of memory, where memory crystallizes and secretes itself has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists.

According to Halbwachs, collective memory could be displayed only within a spatial framework, how a certain place is constructed could determine the type of memory coupled with it, and even though this framework could be altered, it assures an opportunity of continuity for a community. In his argument, collective memory is formed by communities who share a common identity and feelings of belonging, common ancestry, religion and class form the heart of this identity. Physical structures are anchors for identity and interacting with the space is a useful tool to remember the past. He states (1950, p.140):

> Now space is a reality that endures: since our impressions rush by, one after another, and leave nothing behind in the mind, we can understand how we recapture the past only by understanding how it is, in effect, preserved by our physical surroundings. It is to space - the space we occupy, traverse, have continual access to, or can at any time reconstruct in thought and imagination - that we must turn our attention.

Other views on collective memory suggest that it is just a sensible ruling instrument in the hands of the political system used to create some mutual feeling of belonging among individuals and; therefore, profile them to be consistent with the regime's agendas and orders. British historian Eric Hobsbawm argues that social traditions are not inherited but rather constructed. Hobsbawm defines invented traditions as follows (1983, p.1): "A set of practice, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."

It is important to note that this view on the nature of collective memory and traditions being constructed does not deny their essential role in constructing identities. The combination of the remembered or reconstructed memory and how it is being handed to the following generation are considered the fundamental base in forming a group's identity. Psychologist, Richard Ashmore defines collective identity as a narrative that describes the "(story of me as a member of my group) and group story (or, story of my group)" (Ashmore et al. 2004, p.96).

1.2.1 Social or collective memory?

"There are lieux de mémoire, sites of memory, because there are no longer milieux de mémoire, real environments of memory" (Nora 1989, p.7)

Nora's work on site of memory draws particular attention to the linkage people create between their identities and certain places, he argues that this connection is made because of a sense of loss that people experience. In his opinion, site of memories are established because people lose their capacity for remembering as time passes, as well as losing the "real environments of memory" (1989, p.7).

Halbwachs started his work on memory by investigating the role it plays in the social life of a community. He concluded that memories cannot be constructed or defined without reflecting on their social context, and that all types of memories despite having a personal or a collective nature, cannot be formed without social interaction with one another. Halbwachs defined collective memory as: "Social reality, transmitted and sustained through the conscious effort and institutions of groups. Social groups construct their own images of the world through agreed upon versions of the past, versions constructed through communication" (Quoted in Climo and Cattell 2002, pp.3-4). Author Nicolas Russell reflects on Halbwachs's opinion that memory and history are not the same thing, and that once a social group forgets the past or stops experiencing it, that is when history begins. According to Russell, Halbwachs considered memory to be vital and has a "subjective dimension: it creates a sense of self that exists or persists through time, an identity," while he described history as "just a set of facts" (2006, p.800).

In his book, *The Image of the City*, urban planner Kevin Lynch writes about the close connection between memory and materiality: physical spaces restore common meanings for a group of individuals "every citizen has had long associations with some part of his city, and his image is soaked in memories and meanings" (Lynch 1960, p.1). It is who and how these places are being observed determine the variation of these meanings and he calls places of memory "landmarks with external references." Lynch associates great importance to places of social activities, he suggests that when a group of people meets at a given place, it automatically generates meaning to them. This meaning could be related to the site's architectural features, its location or simply because of the rich past its fabric embraces "once a history, a sign, or a meaning attaches to an object, its value as a landmark rises" (Lynch 1960, p.81).

The city's character in Lynch's opinion, is defined by the sense and behaviour of the spaces within, the city here is a constructed space, its evolution and expansion are determined by the attitude of those various spaces. These spaces embodied by the city's structure are considered a ground to perceive visual waves, those waves often interact harmoniously and allow for places of memory to be formed. People, in this case, are associated directly or indirectly with those places of memories. Lynch considers that people who inhabit the city become part of it and its places, it is people's remembrance of the city that create images of it and, its spaces on people's minds (Lynch 1960, pp.2-5). Those memories are interconnected with many of the city's parts, and in order to understand the city one should consider its 'structure, legibility and identity' (Lynch 1960, p.8).

Professor of anthropology and geography, David Harvey argues that a physical space cannot be perceived out of its social context. In his recent work he distinguishes a controversial connection between 'place' and 'space,' and suggests that this connection could be as vast and complicated as the one clarifying the difference between 'universal and local,' 'specific and general.' "What goes on in a place cannot be understood outside of the space relations which support that place any more than the space relations can be understood independently of what goes on in particular places" (Harvey 1996, p.316). Spaces and buildings embrace people's personal and common histories, they reflect their relationships and past events. The physical environment indeed influences how people behave within the space, however, it is important to note that its effect is not limited to this aspect as "it is also a medium, milieu or context in which personal relationships are embedded, and without which they can't be viable" (Altman 1993, p.34).

The term 'sense of place' was defined by Curtis and Rees Jones (1998, p.86) as: "the meaning, intention, felt value and significance that individuals or groups give to particular places." Dovey disagreed with this definition, in his argument places reflect certain ideologies of those who have authority over them, he stated that "shopping malls, office towers and housing enclaves, are examples of where 'sense of place' is reduced to stenographic and rhetorical effect as a cover for place destruction" (1999, p.44). He claims that the physical environment cannot represent people's interaction by itself, and that it is necessary to understand both ideology and social structure's impact on people's daily life and experiences. He states that in order to understand the relationship between people and places, it is essential to consider this impact and that neglecting it would "runs the risk that the ideological framings of place remain buried and hence powerful" (Dovey 1999, p.44).

According to architectural theorist Aldo Rossi there is a significant resemblance between the city and the human body since they both provide people with the opportunity to live outstanding experiences. He argues that the city is remembered through its built environment; therefore, the preservation of old buildings is a similar process to the one created by the human mind to preserve memories. Rossi (1982, p.130):

> The city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image.

Rossi claims that urban artefacts are representative of history and in favoring of genius loci he suggests that people are connected with their past through collective memory: "the value of history seen as collective memory is that it helps us to grasp the significance of the urban structure, its individuality, and its architecture." These urban structures bear the responsibility of transmitting and mediating history to the future generations, it is the nature of these sites that enable people of capturing images of the past in order to experience it in the present and then convey it to the future. "The union between the past and the future exists in the very idea of the city that it flows through, in the same way that memory flows through the life of a person" (Rossi 1982, p.131).

There has been a counter statement made by Professor of architectural history, Adrian Forty (2001) which disagrees with Rossi's suggestion. In his opinion, memories cannot be embodied in architecture as it lacks capability by its nature. He states that memory cannot associate itself with buildings or sites, it is people who create memories in their minds and transmit them to objects "memories formed in the mind can be transferred to solid material objects" (Quoted in Bevan 2006, p.15).

As displayed in the literature above, there is a wide range of scientific definitions and arguments on the relationship between people and places, what all these definitions have in common is the concept that through the interaction between people and their surrounding physical environment, a collective memory and identity are formed. This common identity and memory are essential for sustaining the continuation of societies; nations maintain their existence in a place through urban artefacts and cultural heritage sites which save their authentic identity and keeps tracks of the past.

Urban spaces, buildings and streets contribute to the way people recollect and identify with cities, which create a concrete base for their collective memory of the place. Since places and cities are

rapidly transforming throughout history and transmitted to the future generations by urban development, the question to be asked is what is it that keeps collective identity and memory vivid and continues? If we were to identify the physical reminders of the past, what would those be? Answers for these questions will be presented in the following part of this chapter.

1.2.2 Cultural heritage, memory and identity

The concept of cultural heritage has evolved remarkably over the past two decades, and what was perceived earlier as property or object started to have a more complex and broader meaning, links and values. The definition of cultural heritage is no longer limited to its material aspect which could include museum collection or historic monuments and sites, the current understanding of this word refers to cultural heritage as a procedure of understanding a place through its objects, interfaces and principles (UNESCO 2016a).

The notion of heritage varies between generations, between space and time and between different group categorizes. One of the significant developments in pursuing a definition of this concept is acknowledging that heritage is not only about 'things' but include other intangible aspects such as -and not limited to- rituals, festivals, traditions and practices, and so forth. Heritage is known to "incorporate the symbolic manifestations of culture that are passed on (and changed) over time in a creative process that transmits ideas, beliefs, values and emotions." The sum of values, associations, meanings that the world associate with a particular society and contribute to its identity is recognized as intangible heritage (Harrington 2004, p.3).

The conceptual evolution of cultural heritage suggests that the term nowadays contemplates both material, and immaterial features such as customs, traditions, and narratives. The way those narratives are being told is often controlled and guided by memory, it is argued that heritage cannot exist without memory and that the interaction between individuals and their built environment is what gives heritage its importance. Heritage, memory and identity have an intertwined linkage which could be clarified through understanding the role that heritage plays in forming both personal and collective identity for those who share a common place. Discovering a place is not about its materiality but it is about understanding the 'sense of community within place,' which is done by considering three main aspects: information, time and values, which go hand in hand with the notion of considering heritage a living culture which exists within place, memory, and society (Stefano and Corsane 2008, pp.349-53).

Cultural heritage has many definitions and contested aspects, in reference to heritage's importance as the legacy inherited from the past and belongs to the whole humankind. One of the definitions set by UNESCO, Cultural heritage is (Jokilehto 2005, pp.4-5):

> The entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic - handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind. As a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities, as a legacy belonging to all humankind, the cultural heritage gives each particular place its recognizable features and is the storehouse of human experience.

According to Bevan (2006, pp.15-6), heritage represents the materialization of the interaction between people and their surrounding environment. Cultural heritage assures the nation's continuity in a place and saves its identity and tracks of history. The traditionally built structures he refers to embrace stories of the past and the precious traditions of the ancestors, to be hand it later to the future generations to sustain a collective identity that continues to exist in the same place.

Modern societies tend to represent memory through the designating of place, and it is most demonstrated in times of conflict and catastrophic events. These places often represent the shared heritage of a certain community, this heritage creates a sense of belonging and ownership to those appreciating its significance: "One way in which identity is connected to a particular place is by a feeling that you belong to that place. It is a place that you feel comfortable, because part of how you define yourself is symbolized by certain qualities of that place" (Rose 1995, p.81).

People associate emotions of pride and self-esteem with places they have a connection to, like a significant monument or a historic site (Korpela 1989). Being familiar with the place's history and significance is an important source of self-construction, the way people interact with the place where their ancestors lived and their stories of the past are often remembered, creates a feeling of uniqueness which is shared among those associated with the place and its memory (Stefano and Corsane 2008, p.356). Heritage makes people of a certain community who they are and by interacting with heritage a sense of awareness is created. This interaction creates a form of unity in the community and assures an identify that lives. The collective identity of the community helps people asserting certain values and qualities to themselves and others in their surrounding (Dicks 2003, p.140).

There are many representations when addressing the use of place and determining which narrative to be told. These representations are often selected according to the will and priorities of those who have power in the heritage discourse. The construction of place is used as a useful tool to tell a specific narrative, according to Sullivan this selectivity has (2003, p.50): "led us to neglect the places of the spirit, and the low-key and subtle signs of our past, which can be of great emotional value to ordinary people."

There is so much similarity in nature between heritage and collective memory which makes it hard to approach one apart from the other. "Heritage, like memory, is experienced and perceived, at the level of the individual, through the senses. And yet it is only through social interaction —whether at familial, national or 'world' level—that heritage fully comes into its own." As heritage is perceived to be the material representation of memory, sometimes the former is biasedly selected to focus on a certain memory and neglect many other; therefore, the bind between heritage and collective memory is not always easy to figure "the links are not as straight forward as they might initially appear" (Viejo-Rose 2015).

The key concept here is 'selected,' which clarifies that heritage does not always reflect the whole or honest story of the past; thus, heritage does not always mean past nor culture. It has been indicated that values of heritage are not embodied in the artefacts themselves, but rather casted upon by the observers through their own personal reflection which include and not limited to: nationality, ethnicity, gender and social class, and so forth. The presentation and interpretation of heritage vary according to the situation of the viewer in both space and time. "It is us -in society, within human culture- who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another" (Hall 1997, p.61).

According to Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, the only way to understand heritage and identity is by pluralizing their notion and approaching them in a collective sense: "heritage is a word more widely used than understood, it is often simplistically and singularly applied, and pluralized more commonly in rhetoric than reality" (2007, p.236).

1.3 The destruction of cultural heritage

"The first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory. Destroy its books, its culture, its history" (Kundera 1988; Quoted in Bevan 2006, p.25).

As pointed out in the quote above, the critical position of heritage in the formation process of collective identity and memory, turned it into a valuable instrument to attack and weaken a specific nation in the times of conflicts. Violence has always been a means used to rule and occupy throughout human history, these conflicts, being national or international are often accompanied with tragic events and losses. Whether it is a loss of human lives or cities and urban settlements, cultural heritage often suffers as a consequence of the conflict, it either gets destroyed, damaged or looted.

The destruction of cultural heritage is not a modern phenomenon; attacking ancient buildings and sites complemented many conflicts regardless of their nature. Wars of conquest and frontier, civil wars and interstate: these conflicts vary according to the background and goal of the conflict and range from military battles over territories to massive destructive wars, but attacking cultural property is what they all have in common (Bevan 2006, pp.7-8). The deliberate destruction of heritage during conflicts is considered one of the useful tools used to inflict trauma and a feeling of loss in the targeted community. The interconnected relationship between the physical built environment and the collective memory of a nation mark it an evident target for destruction in wartimes, this concept echoes Bevan's statement: "the intentional collapse of buildings is intimately related to social collapse and upheavals" (2006, p.12).

Heritage plays an essential role in providing a certain society with sense of self-and-history awareness; therefore, obliterating historic artefacts and monuments could lead to collective pain, confusion and abolition of cultural identities, which is effective against the opponents in conflicts. "The destruction of the cultural artefacts of an enemy people or nation [is] a means of dominating, terrorizing, dividing or eradicating it altogether" (Bevan 2006, p.8).

For centuries, historic monuments and sites were essential in creating national identities, their importance was not limited to being considered places where people would gather, rather than places to collect their daily-life activities, experiences and interactions. It is clear that when an enemy desire to erase some nation's memory, these structures must be targeted, because the loss of such property would lead to the "loss of one's collective identity and the secure continuity of those identities" (Bevan 2006, p.13).

The relationship between collective memory and heritage property was researched to a great extent in the work of the researcher and cultural heritage-conflict specialist, Dacia Viejo-Rose. She

explained the significance of the latter to the former as follows (2007, p.102): "cultural heritage in both its tangible and intangible manifestations - physical objects and structures as well as traditional knowledge, beliefs and forms of expression - has become central to contemporary perceptions of collective memory."

People associate immense pain when a historic monument or one their country's landmarks is destroyed on purpose, this purpose may vary according to the conflict's nature whether it is for reasons of ethnic cleansing or simply of collateral nature. One example is the famous Stari Most bridge, when it was destroyed the Croatian writer Slavenka Drakulic was interviewed and asked why she associates greater pain in the images of the fallen bridge in comparison with a recent photo of a killed woman, she answered (1993):

> We expect people to die. We count on our own lives to end. The destruction of a monument to civilization is something else. The bridge in all its beauty and grace was built to outlive us; it was an attempt to grasp eternity. It transcends our individual destiny. A dead woman is one of us - but the bridge is all of us forever (Quoted in Bevan 2006, p.26).

Researcher Ashlyn Milligan, argues that targeting cultural heritage in armed conflicts could be assorted in two main categories (2008, p.96): "that of collateral damage arising from military necessity and the exigencies of war, and the intentional destruction of cultural property as a concerted policy of warfare employed by one or both parties to the conflict."

1.3.1 Deliberate or collateral damage?

When focusing on deliberate destruction of cultural property, recent studies suggested a typology of four motives which are: attacks that serve the interest of the conflict; ones where a cultural property has a military importance; to demonstrate power and commitment to winning the war; and finally, to win economic benefits in order to finance the battles and attract new supports (Brosché, et al. 2017, p.249).

For instance, cultural property might be attacked in conflicts that have ethnic and/or religious divisions aspect, destroying the property, in this case, means erasing the counter-identity of the targeted community. In her book, *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage*, Helen Walasek analyzed the reasons why buildings with symbolic religious values were targeted systematically during the Bosnia War between 1992-1995. In her argument she states that, to demonstrate their

rightful claim over land, the Serbs targeted many mosques all over the country. These buildings were not just damaged by shots or fire: they were razed completely in an attempt to clinch the Muslims' desire of returning to what they once called home (Walasek 2015, passim; Broschе́, et al. 2017, p.252).

The atrocities of war committed against the historic cultural and religious buildings of Bosnia and Herzegovina, denotes that those acts were carried out by the nationalist extremists to eliminate people, their cities, past and memories and to write a new version of history, Hobsbawm states that (1996, p.6):

> For history is the raw material for nationalist or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies, as poppies are the raw material for heroin addiction. The past is an essential element, perhaps the essential element, in these ideologies. If there is no suitable past, it can always be invented.

Targeting historic artefacts, ancient monuments, cultural and religious sites demonstrate a war tactic as one of the most critical weapons used to win the conflict. As it was explained throughout this part of the dissertation, destroying heritage is not about the loss in its materiality but more about detaching the ties between people and their identity and memory. Milligan (2008, p.98) states: "the destruction of cultural property during armed conflicts can be considered one manifestation of a policy of genocide or ethnic cleansing, and a way to dominate over a particular group by eliminating any physical record of their history."

The reasons beyond targeting historic buildings and sites are not always clear and could sometime be difficult to conclude. Historically, these attacks were executed using different means and because of multiple imprecise intentions. One prominent example is the attack on the historic Reims Cathedral in France which was carried out by the German forces in World War I. While the Germans stated that the attack was performed because the cathedral was being used as a military base, the allies argued that it was targeted to demonstrate its advanced military techniques and to show their power (Emery 2009; Broschе́, et al. 2017, p.249).

Another case is the targeting of Croatia's Adriatic Coast: the site went under heavy shelling but not only because of its cultural significance but more because of its role in supporting the touristic activities and generating profits to the country. It was argued that the destruction of the Stari Most bridge of Mostar was part of an overall strategy to ruin the city's infrastructure, or it could be because the bridge held a special cultural meaning for the city's inhabitants (Viejo-Rose 2007,

pp.106-7). The motivation why heritage is targeted sometimes was explained by Viejo-Rose as: "destroying what is held most dear [...] obliterating any historic trace of the Other; erasing reminders of a painful or contested past; eliminating perceived symbols of oppression to assert self-determination; 'wiping the slate clean' in moments of regime change" (2007, p.106).

In some conflicts, certain historic buildings should be erased in order to re-write the past in a way that guarantees the rightful claim of the current regime over power, and to tell its narrative of past events. It was proposed that during armed conflicts and because people often witness the destruction of their cultural property, -especially historic sites and buildings-, they become more aware, attached and proud of it. Driven by their common fear of losing their identity and part of themselves. According to Bevan (2006, p.16):

> The worth of such places increases where efforts to destroy them remind communities of this value. If the touchstones of identity are no longer there to be touched, memories fragment and dislocate - their hostile destruction is an amnesia forced upon the group as a group and on its individual constituent members. Out of sight can become, literally, out of mind both for those whose patrimony has been destroyed and for the destroyers.

Warring parties choose different reasons to fight over, their demands and claims are often contested, and targeting cultural heritage could constitute a way of attaining their core motive of the conflict. For instance, attacking the burial tombs in Timbuktu in Mali by the Islamic rebels was solely motivated by their political and religious ideology which considered visiting these tombs to be part of paganism rituals. Therefore, the destruction of these tombs was essential to achieve an overall conflict goal of imposing the Sharia Law in the country, as well as fighting the infidels (Kila and Zeidler 2013; Walther and Christopoulos 2015; Brosché, et al. 2017).

It was noted that cultural heritage is intentionally targeted during armed conflicts because of its recognized significance by the international community. This suggestion has been evident in the destruction of the Buddha statues of Bamiyan in Afghanistan in 2001, where Taliban fighters chose to deliberately ignore the outcry of the international community to spare these statues and instead insisted on demonstrating strength and commitment to the whole world by reducing these statues into rubbles (Knuth 2006; Kila and Zeidler 2013; Brosché, et al. 2017).

1.3.2 Cultural genocide

"The killing of a person destroys an individual memory. The destruction of cultural heritage erases the memory of a people. It is as if they were never there" (Riedlmayer 2002; Quoted in Pinto Coelho, et al. 2013 p.24).

The link between people and heritage property that exists in their surrounding environment is complex and represents their right to exist in this certain place. Through living at a given space and interacting with history, stories of the past, traditions and customs, people develop the ability to reflect their emotions and sustain their wellbeing. When this heritage is targeted for destruction, people lose the physical recollection and consequently their association with that place, as the symbols of their roots have diminished or vanished (Bevan 2006, p.8).

As condemnation of the violence and massacres committed by the Turkish perpetrators against the Armenian nationals in World War I, Ralph Lemkin[1], —as part of the Conference on International Law in Madrid in 1933—, submitted a paper to clarify the terms of what he described then the linked crimes of "barbarity, vandalism, interrupting international communication, and propagating contagions" to prohibit the targeting of groups based on their racial, national and religious descents (Segesser and Gessler 2005, p.457).

As detailed in his proposal, barbarity was described to include "the premeditated destruction of national, racial, religious and social collectivities," alongside massacres and other actions that intend to exterminate the existence of groups. The term barbarity included other acts which are of individual nature but could be linked to groups as "all sorts of brutalities which attack the dignity of the individual in cases where these acts of humiliation have their source in a campaign of extermination directed against the collectivity in which the victim is a member." He defined vandalism as the "destruction of works of art and culture, being the expression of the particular genius of these collectivities," both of these terms have a direct connection to the term genocide as

[1] Raphael Lemkin was a Polish Jewish lawyer who was moved by the crimes committed by the Turks against the Armenians in WWI, and dedicated his life to make the mass violence committed against 'groups of human beings' a crime that is punishable under the International law. He coined the term 'genocide' and is considered "the founding figure of the UN Genocide Convention," as well as the "father of genocide research" (Journal of Genocide Research 2005, pp.447-50).

they concentrate on the protection of groups or individuals with connection to these groups (Power 2002, p.43).

In 1944 Lemkin wrote his famous book on the Nazi empire: *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, in which he coined the term genocide, and argued that the deliberate destruction of the way a group practices culture in their everyday lives, should be considered a cultural genocide. Throughout the book, he made sure to refine that genocide represents a form of conquest and occupation, he considered it to be colonial and imperial. Concerning the Nazi case, he states "in this respect genocide is a new technique of occupation aimed at winning the peace even though the war itself is lost" (1944, p.81).

It is essential to note that several governments had made promises and signed treaties which protect the rights of minorities, especially those that deal with minority groups' usage of language and other practices of culture in the time between the first and the second world war. It was until 1933 with Lemkin's proposal which introduced the term cultural genocide and proposed to conceive it as a legal term for the first time in history (Morsink 1999, pp.1011-12).

Lemkin pointed out that in order to exterminate the essence of group's life, the political and social basis of their culture along with the common language, shared national feeling and religion must be breached (Moses 2008). In Lemkin's own words (1944, p.79):

> By 'genocide' we mean the destruction of a nation or of an ethnic group. This new word, coined by the author to denote an old practice in its modern development, is made from the ancient Greek word genos (race, tribe) and the Latin cide (killing) [...] Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves.

He concluded at the end of his work that "the destruction of cultural symbols is genocide," as it comprises the destruction of the group's capacity and activities; thus, it "menaces the existence of the social group which exists by virtue of its common culture" (Moses 2008, p.12). Lemkin's book is considered one of the key influencers that inspired the General Assembly of the United Nations to adopt a new resolution, which he drafted himself, in 1946 declaring that genocide is a crime that denies "the right of existence of entire human groups" and results in "great losses to humanity in

the form of cultural and other contributions represented by these human groups" (UN 1946, pp.188-9).

Lemkin was appointed by the UN Secretariat, along with French jurist Henri Donnedie de Vabres, and Romanian legal expert Vespasian V. Pella, to prepare a draft of the convention on the Crime of Genocide. The draft considered genocide to have three aspects: physical, biological and cultural. Genocide as included in the draft, means the extermination of specific characteristics of the group by (1947, p.6):

(a) forced transfer of children to another human group; or
(b) forced and systematic exile of individuals representing the culture of a group; or
(c) prohibition of the use of the national language even in private intercourse; or
(d) systematic destruction of books printed in the national language or of religious works or prohibition of new publications; or
(e) systematic destruction of historical or religious monuments or their diversion to alien uses, destruction or dispersion of documents and objects of historical, artistic, or religious value and of objects used in religious worship.

The term genocide was then defined in (Article II) of the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, published as part of the United Nations Treaty Series, to include many aspects and considered to involve (1951, p.280): "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Even though the term cultural genocide was left out of the convention, the intentions and acts embodied within this term were detailed. Lemkin's influence on addressing and listing the acts within the definition is evident, especially when tackling the third aspect related to targeting the daily-life activities of a group to eradicate its existence.

During the Balkan war between 1991 and 1995, cultural heritage was damaged and destroyed to great extent and massacres of ethnic cleansing were committed, the term cultural genocide gained then a recognition and was often used to refer to those heinous acts. These massacres carried out by the Serbs against the Muslims living in Bosnia was based on the claim made by the Serbs that these cities with Bosniaks majority are essential for creating what they called greater Serbia. In that conflict, Muslims were killed in masses and their cities were annihilated in order to obliterate their very existence, their cultural heritage was systematically destroyed or damaged, and according to Bevan this destruction was (2006, p.42): "directed at collective memory, shared history and attachment to place and the built environment. It was designed to eradicate the historical presence as well as the contemporary lives of the target community."

As discussed in this part of the chapter, destroying cultural heritage is regarded a crime and an act of genocide; thus, it is important to detect the development of the international legal frameworks which focus on setting principles and guidelines to protect heritage in the times of armed conflicts.

1.4 Legal framework — international conventions and agreements

Destroying and looting cultural heritage assets is an old phenomenon dating back to antiquity. This act of "plundering in time of war is ancient, timeless, and pandemic [...] The history of the world is in part the history of wars." Warring parties often used to attack cultural heritage as a weapon of war, and it has been acknowledged that the victorious party gets to keep all the treasures of the defeated enemy, this practice was evident in the famous adage 'to the victor goes the spoils' (Greenfield 1997; Quoted in Cunning 2003, p.212).

Much later and throughout his conquest campaign against many countries in Europe, Napoleon used the seizing of cultural artifacts which belonged to his enemies and compiled them across France in many museums. These pillaged masterpieces were then returned to their countries of origin after his defeat in 1815. This new policy of obliging France to return the plundered cultural property was the first act of protecting ancient artifacts in modern history (Cunning 2003, p.213).

In the eighteenth century, and as part of his most prominent book *The Law of Nations*, Emiric de Vattel, wrote that (1758; Quoted in Keane 2004, pp.2-3):

> For whatever cause a country is ravaged, we ought to spare those edifices which do honor to human society, and do not contribute to increase the enemy's strength - such as temples, tombs, public

> buildings, and all works of remarkable beauty. What advantage is obtained by destroying them? It is declaring one's self an enemy to mankind.

De Vattel's words mark the outset of the progress to develop international laws to protect cultural heritage and prohibit its destruction. It was, however, until 1899 and 1907 that the first legal conventions which provide the protection to cultural heritage in armed conflicts, were published within the two Hague Conventions. According to the 1907 Convention (Hague IV) Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, the destruction and confiscation of enemy's cultural property is prohibited unless it is (Article 23-g): "imperatively demanded by the necessities of war" (Higgins 1909, p.235). The Convention imposes that (Article 27):

> In sieges and bombardments all necessary steps must be taken to spare, as far as possible, buildings dedicated to religion, art, science, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not being used at the time for military purposes. (Higgins 1909, p.237).

The existence of such buildings should be marked and made visible by the besieged country, so that any destruction, looting or damage to this cultural property will lead to legal prosecution (Article 56):

> The property of municipalities, that of institutions dedicated to religion, charity and education, the arts and sciences, even when State property, shall be treated as private property. All seizure of, destruction or willful damage done to institutions of this character, historic monuments, works of art and science, is forbidden, and should be made the subject of legal proceedings (Higgins 1909, p.251).

The Hague Convention of 1907 is particularly significant because it was considered part of the customary international law during the International Military Tribunal Sitting which took place in Nuremberg, Germany to prosecute the German war criminals in 1945. It was announced then that the regulations provided by the 1907 Convention are binding even for states that did not ratify them and any violation of these principles is subject to international sanctions (Library of Congress 2016). The 1907 Convention failed massively in protecting cultural property during World War I, cultural assets were damaged, looted and devastated entirely. Even though those acts of aggression were condemned by the international community, the Germans were never prosecuted for it (Keane 2004, pp.6-8).

As part of the genocide committed against the Jews during the Nazi reign and World War II, the Jewish heritage was deliberately targeted with the purpose of destruction in order to eliminate any physical evidence of their existence. The notorious war was accompanied with offenses against cultural property, those acts were in the form of plundering, damaging and demolishing (Bevan 2006, pp.28-9). The sheer scale of damage to those properties raised international concerns towards the role of heritage in armed conflicts as a significant tool of war. The attention given to cultural heritage in the aftermath of that war and the recognition of its importance along with the attempts to avoid the circle of failures to protect it or achieve any legal claim after World War I, created the motive behind producing the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. That was adopted in the Hague in the Netherlands along with its First Protocol in the same year, and later in 1999 its Second Protocol (Milligan 2008, p.93).

In (Article 1) of the convention, Cultural Property was defined to include (UNESCO 1954):

(a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above;
(b) buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a) such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a);
(c) centres containing a large amount of cultural property as defined in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b), to be known as 'centres containing monument.'

The core motive behind this convention was to reduce the harmful implications of warfare on cultural property, as well as defining new legislation and measures to protect, safeguard and honor ancient artefacts and historic sites in the times of conflict and peace. The convention made it obligatory for High Contracting Parties to preserve and safeguard their cultural property during peacetimes, and to protect those properties against the harmful consequences of any armed conflict in the near future (UNESCO 1954, Article 3).

The convention acknowledges that "cultural property has suffered grave damage during recent armed conflicts and that, by reason of the developments in the technique of warfare, it is in increasing danger of destruction" and; therefore, it considers "[t]he preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world and that it is important that this heritage should receive international protection." According to the following statement, UNESCO recognizes cultural heritage to belong to the entire mankind and its protection is in the interest of the whole humanity: "Being convinced that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world" (UNESCO 1954, Preamble).

The convention calls upon State Parties to safeguard their heritage property in their countries as well as refrain from causing any form of damage to other states' cultural heritage. It specifies (UNESCO 1954, Article 4.1):

> The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect cultural property situated within their own territory as well as within the territory of other High Contracting Parties by refraining from any use of the property and its immediate surroundings or of the appliances in use for its protection for purposes which are likely to expose it to destruction or damage in the event of armed conflict; and by refraining from any act of hostility, directed against such property.

In order to ensure that State Parties would respect and protect cultural property in their country and other states' territories in the times of conflict, the convention calls for sanctions and requires that the High Contracting Parties (UNESCO 1954, Article 28):

> [...] undertake to take, within the framework of their ordinary criminal jurisdiction, all necessary steps to prosecute and impose penal or disciplinary sanctions upon those persons, of whatever nationality, who commit or order to be committed a breach of the present Convention.

One of the main criticisms of the 1954 Convention is that it gives absolute responsibility to states and governmental bodies to pursuit any form of legal prosecution for crimes against cultural property. In other words, the convention does not have jurisdiction to sue those states or individuals which breach its principles. If a state party committed a crime against a cultural property in its territory, then the convention cannot do anything to punish this state. This inadequacy of carrying-out any legal procedures was evident when Taliban destroyed the Buddhas of Bamiyan in 2001;

Taliban was representing the state back then and logically it will not take any legal action against itself. Thus, the convention, in this case, is completely useless (Mucci 2016, pp.3-5-7).

The 1907 Convention just as its successor of 1954, prohibits any destructive act including militarizing a cultural property, vandalism or theft of artefacts during warfare combats, but again both conventions exclude the damage that could arise as 'military necessity.' The 1954 Convention states that the responsibility of destroying cultural property "may be waived only in cases where military necessity imperatively requires such waiver" (Article 4.2).

There are two Protocols within the convention: The First Protocol is fairly short and specifies a set of guidelines and regulations on the way movable cultural property should be handled during conflict times, the Protocol bans any High Contracting Party from the exporting and importing of cultural items from an occupied or defeated land. The term property is used here to state the fact that historic artefacts are often treated as objects during armed conflicts, these items are moved and traded as properties irrespective of their cultural significance (Milligan 2008, p.94). The Second Protocol on the other hand, was made to reinforce the First Protocol, as well as to improve several terms and articles of the convention. This Protocol attempt to specify the scope of the military necessity concept and the conditions where it is possible to apply the waiver of the legal obligations mentioned throughout the document (Micewski and Sladek 2002, p.3; Keane 2004, p.36).

It was evident that the term 'military necessity' was misused in many conflicts of armed nature, but it was until the Balkan War that the utmost attention was given to the context of this term. During that war the attacks against people were accompanied by the systematic destruction of cultural heritage in all its forms: historic buildings; artefacts; libraries and archives. The violence against cultural property in that war was so evident and the concept of 'military necessity' consequently faced many denunciations and disputes (Micewski and Sladek 2002, p.1). As a response to the increasing criticism, UNESCO added The Second Protocol which "attempts to strengthen the protective regime by raising the threshold for military use of cultural objects" (Milligan 2008, p.94).

As stated in (Article 3) of the convention, the High Contracting Parties are bound to produce a list of all the prominent cultural property within their territories, to be placed under protection in the times of armed conflict. This notion was generated and implanted through a list known as the International Registry of Cultural Property under Special Protection, where state parties would name their most significant cultural places, monuments, objects and artefacts. All cultural property

included on this list become then protected and "must not be used for military purposes or to shield military sites" (UNESCO 1954; Second Protocol 1999, Article 10).

The Second Protocol specifies its jurisdiction in prosecuting those who violate the convention and its two protocols, even if the crime is carried-out within the borders of a High Contracting Party, The Protocol would use the International Law to go after those who committed the offense. According to (Article 15.1) of the Protocol 1999: "Any person commits an offense within the meaning of this Protocol if that person intentionally and in violation of the convention or this Protocol commits any of the following acts:

(a) making cultural property under enhanced protection the object of attack;
(b) using cultural property under enhanced protection or its immediate surroundings in support of military action;
(c) extensive destruction or appropriation of cultural property protected under the Convention and this Protocol;
(d) making cultural property protected under the Convention and this Protocol the object of attack;
(e) theft, pillage or misappropriation of, or acts of vandalism directed against cultural property protected under the Convention."

The second paragraph of (Article 15) requires State Parties to take all the needed actions to form criminal violations within their national laws. Additionally, in (Article 16.a) the Second Protocol states that it does not: "preclude the incurring of individual criminal responsibility or the exercise of jurisdiction under national and international law that may be applicable, or affect the exercise of jurisdiction under customary international law." In other words, the Second Protocol defines the scope of crimes against cultural property and introduces the proper legal actions to prosecute them.

However, there has been much debate concerning the effectiveness of the Second Protocol as it was not signed or ratified by many states "there are 116 signatories to the 1954 Convention, and 93 and 44 to the First and Second Protocol respectively" (Milligan 2008, p.95). Therefore, to commit to the Second Protocol principles is not mandatory to the states that did not sign it, as well as the impossibility to create any legal proceeding against those who breached those standards.

With that in mind, the Second Protocol explains in (Article 16.b) that principles of the Protocol are not applicable on "members of the armed forces and nationals of a State which is not Party to this Protocol, except for those nationals serving in the armed forces of a State which is a Party to

this Protocol, do not incur individual criminal responsibility by virtue of this Protocol." Thus, when those individuals violate the laws of the Protocol and commit an offense against cultural property, the Protocol does not enforce a responsibility to prosecute such individuals. So, unless a High Contracting Party decides to pursue these individuals legally, the Protocol cannot oblige it.

The Second Protocol defines two levels of cultural property security, intending to deliver "enhanced protection." Those levels are 'general protection' and 'special protection' which go hand in hand with 'distinctive emblem' (UNESCO 1954, Second Protocol 1999).

According to Chapter V, (Article 16 and 17) of the 1954 Convention, the "distinctive emblem" consists of a blue and white shield and their implementation depends on whether the state has signed the Second Protocol or not. These two Articles acknowledge that states can mark their heritage property in the times of conflict in a clear statement that those properties are protected under the 1954 Hauge Convention. Now if the state is part of the High Contracting Parties but has not signed the Second Protocol, then the country is provided with the elementary level of protection or 'general protection,' monuments of cultural significance could be marked with a single blue shield. In the other case when the country has signed the Second Protocol, then this state is provided with an advanced degree of protection within the listing for 'cultural property under special protection,' buildings and other cultural objects which were included in the list can use "the distinctive emblem repeated three times" for higher protection (UNESCO 1954).

It is important to note that the primary distinction between general and special protection leads back to the 'military necessity' concept. Safeguarding and securing the cultural property under general protection could be waived according to (Article 4.2) "only in cases where military necessity imperatively requires such a waiver." According to (Article 11.2) in Chapter II: in the case of cultural property under special protection "immunity shall be withdrawn [...] only in exceptional cases of unavoidable military necessity" (UNESCO 1954). In the two levels of protection, military necessity exists whether it is imperative or unavoidable and; thus, again there is a lack of proper definition of this 'necessity,' which leaves a loophole by which the concept is misused and the destruction of cultural property is justified (Micewski and Sladek 2002, p.4).

1972 World Heritage Convention

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage also known as the 1972 World Heritage Convention, is one legal document that has intended to protect

cultural heritage not only during conflicts but in peacetime as well. The convention provides for the inscription sites of outstanding significance to the world as 'World Heritage Sites,' the convention stands out from other documents with the signatures of 193 State Parties (UNESCO 2017a, p.1).

Just like in the 1954 Hague Convention, the World Heritage Convention considered the significance of cultural heritage not limited to the national context but exceeded it to have an international importance, and that cultural property belongs to humanity as a whole, in the Preamble: "Parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole." The convention condemns the destruction of this property and labels it a loss for humankind: "considering that deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world." Furthermore, the convention acknowledges that "cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction." Finally, the convention calls for the establishment of a new system to enforce the protection of both cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO 1972)

The World Heritage Convention (1972) pursues to create a mechanism by which the State Parties could identify and outline the property located within their borders for safeguarding and protection. (Article 4) states that: "each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage." The convention relies on State Parties to ensure the safeguarding of their natural and cultural heritage, and ensures that there would be international protection as well, through (Article 7): "the establishment of a system of international co-operation and assistance designed to support State Parties to the convention in their efforts to conserve and identify that heritage."

The convention aims to enhance the protection of heritage property, it fails to provide any system by which States or groups of individuals would be prosecuted when damaging this property. The convention urges States to request international aid, especially after the creation of both the World Heritage Committee and The World Heritage Fund, and it has been specified through (1972, Article 19 to Article 26) the types of assistance and funds provided to the State Parties by the

convention. The World Heritage Convention is arguably not efficient when it comes to protecting heritage; it does not address the consequences of committing a crime against cultural heritage, nor does it do anything to prevent these offenses. While the convention is designated to identify and prevent the destruction of natural and cultural heritage of universal importance, it fails to identify any mechanism by which those offenses would be punished.

The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

Known as the 2002 Rome Statute in reference to the year it entered into force, the treaty was first established in 1998 with signatures of 160 State, and laid the foundation of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and defined its laws, methods and jurisdictions. Even though the main purpose of the Rome Statute is not protecting cultural property, its principles could be used in that context. Especially that Article 8.b of the treaty made the violence against cultural property a war crime and specified it to include (UN-General Assembly 1998):

> (ii) Intentionally directing attacks against civilian objects, that is, objects which are not military objectives;
> (v) Attacking or bombarding, by whatever means, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings which are undefended and which are not military objectives;
> (ix) Intentionally directing attacks against buildings dedicated to religion, education, art, science or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals and places where the sick and wounded are collected, provided they are not military objectives.

Indeed, that the 2002 Statute did not address its jurisdictions concerning offenses against cultural property directly, however, it has been argued that the intentional destruction of cultural heritage is considered a crime of hostility and in turn a crime against humanity. Therefore, the Rome Statute could be applied and the involved parties could be prosecuted. The Rome Statute in (Article 7.1) defines crimes against humanity, one could conclude two points which could be interpreted to include the hostility against cultural property (UN-General Assembly 1998):

> h) Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender [...] or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;

> k) Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.

The use of the Rome Statute was evident in many trials within the International Criminal Tribunal in Former Yugoslavia, where hostility against cultural heritage was considered and proceeded to prosecution. One commentator who was presented in these trials stated that: "[I]n the final analysis, therefore, it is sufficiently clear that the discriminatory plunder of cultural property is capable of constituting under customary international law the crime against humanity of persecution" (O'Keefe 2010; Quoted in Hill 2016, p.208).

The main deficiency of the Rome Statute is that, like other Treaties, its principles cannot be enforced unless the State has signed and ratified the Treaty (Article 12) So, just like the 1954 Convention, the Rome Statute does not include enforcement instruments, nor is adequate in protecting or bring actions against crimes on cultural property in court.

The 2003 Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage

In 2001, the United Nations as a statement of condemnation against the destruction of the Buddhas at Bamiyan by Taliban, passed a resolution which was adopted by the Security Council in 2003 and The Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage was put in action. In its Preamble, the declaration points that it is "recalling the tragic destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan that affected the international community as a whole," as well as "expressing serious concern about the growing number of acts of intentional destruction of cultural heritage." The 2003 Declaration was meant as an instrument to enforce international law and important to note that it is not binding to State. The declaration states that: "cultural heritage is an important component of the cultural identity of communities, groups and individuals, and of social cohesion, so that its intentional destruction may have adverse consequences on human dignity and human rights" (Preamble, UNESCO 2003). As the Rome Statute, the declaration considers the destruction of cultural heritage a war crime, the declaration specifies the 'intentional destruction' as when (Article 2.2):

> [A]n act intended to destroy in whole or in part cultural heritage, thus compromising its integrity, in a manner which constitutes a violation of international law or an unjustifiable offence to the principles of humanity and dictates of public conscience, in the latter case in so far as such acts are not already governed by fundamental principles of international law.

Noteworthy that many standards and principles of the 2003 Declaration are emphasized by the 1907 and 1954 Hague Conventions and its two protocols. According to (Article 5) The protection of cultural heritage is required for both inscribed and non-inscribed property, during international and non-international conflicts (UNESCO 2003):

> [...] States should take all appropriate steps to conduct their activities in such a manner as to protect cultural heritage and, in particular, in conformity with the principles and objectives of the following existing international agreements on the protection of such heritage during hostilities.

Just like the 1954 Convention, the declaration authorizes the States to make legislation to protect and safeguard their cultural property, as well as respecting the cultural property of others in the time of conflicts (Article 3):

(a) States should take all the necessary measures to prevent, avoid, stop and suppress acts of intentional destruction of cultural heritage located in their territory. This applies also to such acts when committed against cultural heritage situated on the territory of another State;
(b) States should adopt the necessary legal, administrative, educational and technical measures, within the framework of their economic resources, to protect cultural heritage as well as to revise them periodically with a view to adapting them to the evolution of national and international cultural heritage protection standards.

The declaration identifies the responsibility of both 'States and Individuals' in committing offenses against cultural heritage According to (Article 6):

> States that intentionally destroy or intentionally fail to take the necessary measures to prohibit, prevent, stop and punish any intentional destruction of cultural heritage of great importance for humanity, including such cultural heritage which is of special interest for the community directly affected by such destruction, bear the responsibility for such destruction.

Furthermore, the declaration relies on the States to prosecute those individuals or groups who committed crimes against cultural heritage (Article 7):

(a) States should take all necessary steps, in accordance with international law, to establish jurisdiction over, and provide effective penal sanctions for those persons who commit or order to be committed acts of intentional destruction of cultural heritage of great importance for humanity;
(b) For the purposes of a more comprehensive protection, each State is encouraged to take all necessary steps, in accordance with international law, to establish jurisdiction over, and provide effective penal

sanctions for those persons who are found present on the territory of this State, regardless of their nationality and the place where such act occurred.

Unfortunately, the declaration does not specify any mechanism of enforcing the international law nor it specifies the punishment applicable to such crime; therefore, just like the 1954 Convention, it is unsatisfactory and inadequate to protect cultural property and prevent destroying it, which is supposed to be the sole aim of this declaration.

1.5 Legal framework – in relation to the Syrian case

The conflict in Syria had caused irreversible damage to the country's cultural heritage. Many instances of destruction and extensive looting occurred, where urban structures, ancient castles and monuments, places of worship and museums were affected. Those acts demonstrate a clear violation of the customary international law by both the Syrian regime and the opposing forces, and the insufficiency of the legal framework to protect heritage assets during conflicts. It should be noted that the Syrian government is a signatory to many international conventions which reads as follows (Ali 2013, p.352):

(a) Agreement for Facilitating the International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Character with Protocol of Signature and model form of certificate provided for in Article IV of the above-mentioned agreement (1948; signed 1951);
(b) Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention - the 1954 Hague Convention and the First Protocol (1954; signed 1958);
(c) Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (1970; signed 1975);
(d) Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972; signed 1975);
(e) Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials, with Annexes A to E and Protocol annexed (1950; signed 1980);
(f) Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as Waterfowl Habitat (1971; signed 1998);
(g) Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003; signed 2005);
(h) International Convention for the Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organizations (1961; signed 2006); and,

(i) Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005; signed 2008).

Bearing this in mind, and in relevance to the section above, I will briefly present selected articles from the key legal instruments which were signed by the Syrian government: the (1954) Hague Convention and the (1972) World Heritage Convention, and their violations concerning the Syrian case.

The 1954 Hague Convention

As mentioned before, the 1954 Hague Convention, and its First and Second Protocols are the only legal frameworks which address the protection of cultural heritage in armed conflicts. According to the principles of this convention, all warring parties are obligated to refrain from "(a) any use of the property or its immediate surroundings for military purposes which are likely to expose it to destruction or damage, as well as (b) from any act of hostility, directed against such property (Article 4.1)." On the one hand, the Syrian regime violated both sections of this article in several occasions: (a) the army occupation of the Aleppo citadel in 2012 transformed it into a target and exposed it to a great threat of destruction (Cohen 2012), (b) the direct aerial-raids on the castle of Krak des Chevaliers in 2013 resulted in damaging its fabric (Van Tets 2013). The Islamic State on the other hand, committed horrendous crimes against the Syrian cultural heritage; most evident in the ancient city of Palmyra where the militants rampaged its ruins causing irreversible loss of many unique sites such as Temple of Bel and the Arch of Triumph (Shaheen 2017). Again, the misuse of the term 'military necessity' could absolve those who committed such crimes from any responsibility and/or future persecution.

Additional (Articles 6 and 8) urge to use a 'distinctive emblem' to generate a 'special protection' for heritage property: the distinctive emblem is issued on cultural property with high significance, in order to prevent any shelling or bombing which might target it, in an attempt to generate greater protection measures. The Syrian government never implemented any measures and heritage property suffered the consequences. Under the convention, the high contracting parties should take measures to "prohibit, prevent and, if necessary, put a stop to any form of theft, pillage or misappropriation of, and any acts of vandalism directed against, cultural property" (Article 4.3). There have been incidents of widespread theft of valuable artifacts of many museums (UNESCO

2016b), and illegal excavations[2] at archaeological sites across the country, with unfortunately no measures enforced to stop them.

The selected aggression against heritage property in Syria, reflect not only the absence of legal instruments which could enforce the main principles of the convention to protect heritage during the conflict, but the inability to hold any involved party accountable for the acts committed against heritage once the conflict is concluded.

The 1972 World Heritage Convention

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, also known as the 1972 World Heritage Convention, is often referred to for managing cultural heritage sites that are of outstanding universal value, and even though it does not address the case of armed conflicts, its articles are highly relevant and; thus, applicable within such events. Under (Article 4): "Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State." Syria is party to the convention; therefore, the Syrian government is entitled to its principles. However, as the convention does not specify the measures for 'protection' and 'conservation,' it is left for interpretation but it could be argued that the Syrian government did not take enough measures to protect' nor 'conserve' its world heritage sites, on the contrary its usage, and targeting those sites clearly violated the convention.

According to (Article 6.3) each State Party to this convention must abstain from "taking any deliberate measures which might damage, directly or indirectly, the cultural and natural heritage situated on the territory of other States Parties to this convention." In this context, the interpretation of this article could reflect the following measures (Lostal 2015, p.7): "(i) direct attacks; (ii) use of cultural sites that might lead to their direct harm; (iii) attacks aimed at another objective but that might harm those sites indirectly; (iv) use of the surroundings of cultural heritage sites that may cause them indirect damage." Again, all these principles were breached in Syria, with little to no measures taken to avoid or sue those who committed them. The convention has failed

[2] For more information check UNESCO's reports, available at: https://en.unesco.org/syrian-observatory/reports/illegal-excavations

to prevent the acts of destruction of heritage property, especially during the current conflicts where its principles are highly ignored.

The targeting of world heritage sites during conflicts is highly debatable even before the war in Syria and Iraq, the destruction of the Buddhas of Bamiyan drew a critical point on both the inability of the convention to protect nor prosecute those who committed this hideous act. The urge for specifying the interpretation into firm words led to the adoption of the Declaration concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage (2003 UNESCO Declaration) which addressed the topic in more concrete terms under (Article V):

> When involved in an armed conflict, be it of an international or non-international character, including the case of occupation, States should take all appropriate measures to conduct their activities in such a manner as to protect cultural heritage, in conformity with customary international law and the principles and objectives of international agreements and UNESCO recommendations concerning the protection of such heritage during hostilities.

When violating these principles the declaration urged in (Article VII):

> States should take all appropriate measures, in accordance with international law, to establish jurisdiction over, and provide effective criminal sanctions against, those persons who commit, or order to be committed, acts of intentional destruction of cultural heritage of great importance for humanity, whether or not it is inscribed on a list maintained by UNESCO or another international organization.

Now that the crimes committed against world heritage sites protected under the World Heritage Status, could be prosecuted and individuals could be held responsible for carrying out aggression against such property, the question remains whether it would be applicable in the Syrian war and if there is a will to file a legal claim against these violations.

The overview of the international legislation concerning the protection of cultural heritage and its relevance to the Syrian case, demonstrate a general lack of implementation and the wide range of possible individual interpretations, which outline these legal frameworks to be both impractical and insufficient. This part aims is to draw on the urgency for developing an instrument, which could impose the terms of the legal documents by identifying the current gaps that exist between the principles and their execution, as well as the possibility to treat their violation as a crime which could be persecuted under the international law.

2 Section Two: a typology of values

The contemporary challenges facing the preservation of heritage are not only related to determining the best practice but have more to do with identifying what we consider 'historic' and worth 'preserving.' In Kevin Lynch's opinion, buildings are deemed significant when comprising several aspects, such as reflecting by their architectural styles and/or structures the events of the era in which they exist; or when they embody the memory of a famous person in history; or is capable of illustrating the communal, political and financial surrounding atmosphere. These pleas form the key motives which call for the preservation of the past through restoring its monuments. He states that (1985, p.19):

> Historic preservation embodies a similar intellectual puzzle. Just as all environments are part of nature, so all things historic-all have existed previously, all have been connected with some events and persons, and so all have a historic meaning. We must choose what we would keep.

All sites and buildings have a historic aspect in their fabric, location or origin. It is the management of the heritage property throughout the daily happenings that reflects the capacity of this site to retain its values and significance as time passes. The question concerning the restoration, reconstruction and preservation of historic buildings is not limited to which buildings to save but who should decide for the best conservation practice and how. The main objective of heritage conservation and management projects is to guarantee the maintenance of the cultural significance of archaeological artifacts. While heritage conservation does not deny changes which occur over time, it provides the basic guidelines to make sure that these changes do not interfere, compromise or change the cultural significance of the cultural asset.

2.1 Values, cultural significance and the Burra Charter

The concept of cultural significance commenced in the 1999 Burra Charter or the Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, which was primarily formulated in 1979. The charter intended to provide a set of conservation standards and guidelines for all those involved in places of cultural significance within Australia. The latest version of the Burra Charter which was adopted in 2013 considered that the significance of a heritage asset could be determined by

identifying a totality of existing and protentional values and meanings associated with it, concerning the stakeholders assigning them.

Cultural significance is the sum of qualities which make certain cultural asset recognizable and includes, according to the charter (Article 1.2) "aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value" which is judged in the past and the present and determined for the future generations.

The process of identifying the values within a place and assessing each of them, enables heritage professionals to ascribe a particular importance to it which could be considered the basic step to ensure the best conservation practice to sustain its significance. This significance is not limited to the place itself but exceeds it to cover "its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects" (Australia ICOMOS 2013a, p.2).

Even though cultural values might change "over time and with use," and might hold different meanings to different groups, the Burra Charter "advocates a cautious approach to change: do as much as necessary to care for the place and to make it useable, but otherwise change it as little as possible so that its cultural significance is retained" (Australia ICOMOS 2013a, pp.1-2).

Heritage values are perceived as a dynamic notion which could vary according to the individuals ascribing them, since "it is us, in society, within human culture, who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently will always change, from one culture or period to another" (Hall 1997, p.61). Therefore, cultural values could be recognized as extrinsic and subjective, furthermore different communities and sometimes individuals could appoint different and even conflicting values to the same cultural asset (Tarrafa Silva and Pereira Roders 2012, p.376).

Over the past twenty years, heritage management discourse has developed a range of cultural values which complemented the existing values recognized by the UNESCO's World Heritage Convention as historic, aesthetical/artistic, scientific and social values. The Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) and Professor of historic preservation, Randall Mason, produced a summary of heritage value typologies devised by various scholars as follows (2002, p.9):

Riegl (1902)	Lipe (1984)	Burra Charter (1998)	Frey (1997)	English Heritage (1997)
Age	Economic	Aesthetic	Monetary	Cultural
Historical	Aesthetic	Historic	Option	Educational and academic
Commemorative	Associative-symbolic	Scientific	Existence	Economic
Use	Informational	Social (including spiritual, political, national, other cultural)	Bequest	Resource
Newness			Prestige	Recreational
			Educational	Aesthetic

Figure 2.1 *Summary of heritage value typologies devised by various scholars and organizations* (Mason 2002, p.9)

In 2007, Professor in heritage and sustainability, Ana Pereira Roders defined a typology of primary values which reads as follows: economic, historic, aesthetical, social, scientific, age, political and ecological values; and a range of different secondary values (2007, pp.141-2). The heritage discourse and publications which reflect on values demonstrate a clear change of perception of those values and what they represent in the course of time, this fact was highlighted in Mason's work and his urge to construct a management tool which integrates the different identified values of a cultural asset in a balanced way. This tool was to be designed in a way that ensures minimum interventions; take into consideration the identification of values from the planning phase; work as a monitoring system; and decides for the best conservation practices (Mason 2002, p.5). According to the Burra Charter (2013) under (Article 2):

(1) *Places* of *cultural significance* should be conserved;
(2) The aim of *conservation* is to retain the *cultural significance* of a *place*;
(3) *Conservation* is an integral part of good management of *places* of *cultural significance*;
(4) *Places* of *cultural significance* should be safeguarded and not put at risk or left in a vulnerable state.

To ensure the development of the best conservation plans, a logical progression should be followed in accordance with the principles of the charter (NSW Heritage Office 1999, p.1):

(1) investigate the physical and documentary evidence of the place;
(2) assess the heritage significance of the place;
(3) develop a conservation and management approach based on the importance of the place;
(4) carry out the work;
(5) collate a record of what you have done.

The Burra Charter Process identified several steps to manage places of cultural significance, which are detailed in the following figure:

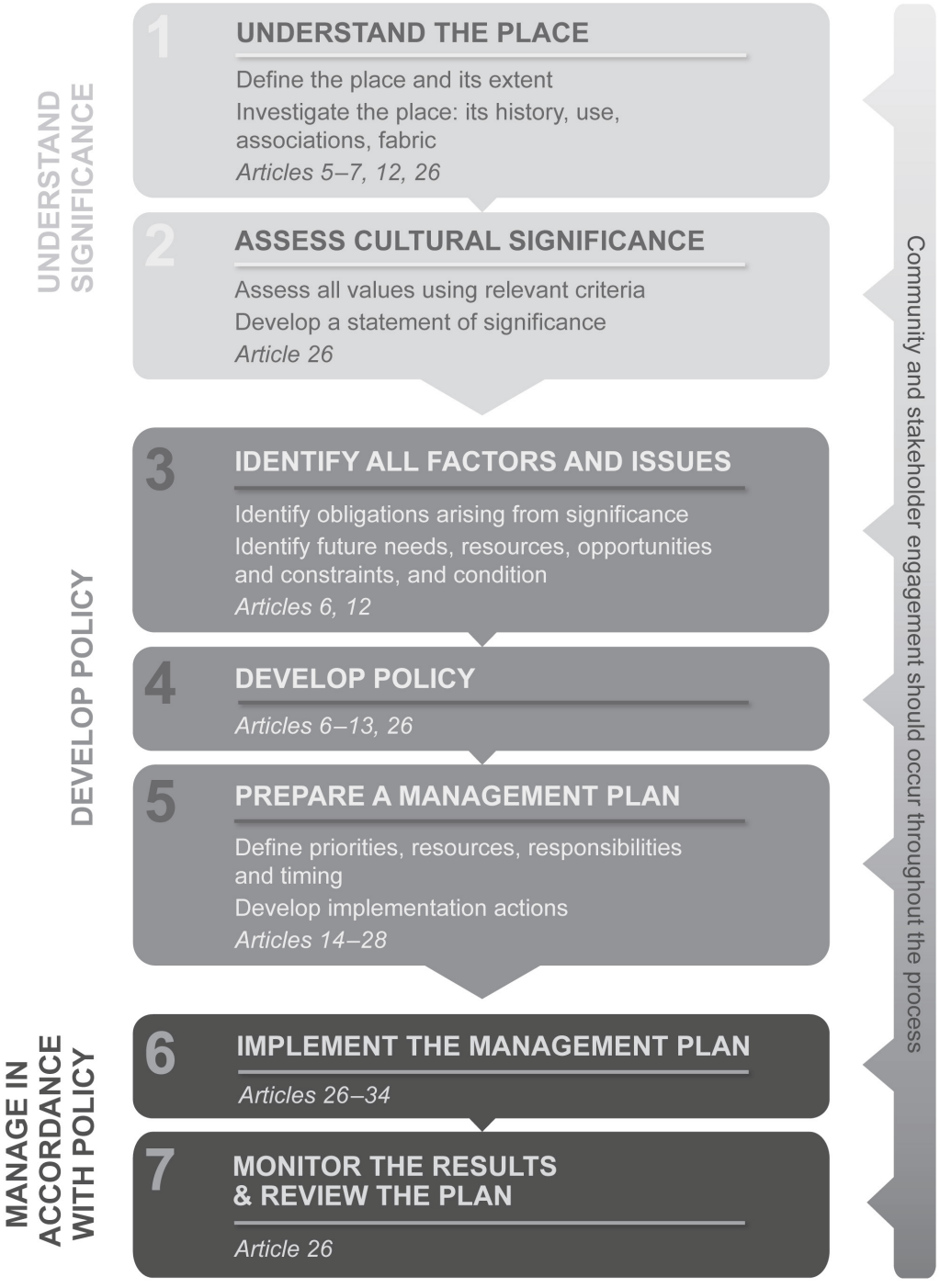

Figure 2.2 *The Burra Charter Process* (Australia ICOMOS 2013, p.10)

2.1.1 Cataloguing heritage values and their identification

It is worth noting that the terms significance and value are often treated in a similar manner within the cultural heritage practice, where values are defined as the positive traits which provide an archaeological asset with distinctive importance. With that being said, the values of a specific site for instance, are often ascribed by the authorities in agreement with both the stakeholders and the experts, and encompass the possible profits that could be generated from this site. The significance however could be conceived as the sum of values, which could be extracted from historic records; experts' transcripts and conducted studies and reports. The value-based approach seeks to establish a balance between values, benefits, and, interests of the various stakeholders in a given site (Myers et al. 2010, pp.1-2).

According to Mason (2002, pp.14-6), heritage values are not limited to the object itself but exceed it to convey the interaction between this object and the surrounding environment; thus, these values are often ascribed with a specific attribution to a particular geographical location, community and historic records. In expressing the importance of a tangible cultural asset such as a site, building or an artifact, and defining it as 'heritage,' it automatically possesses its authentic heritage value. The process of value-creation on the other hand, is always narrated with liability on the social events surrounding the asset; therefore, values sustain the link between materiality and immateriality bridging between things, reflections and thoughts.

Drawing on the definitions of the heritage values typology illustrated, in the text between the work of Mason (2002); the Burra Charter (2013); and, Historic England (2015), the most relevant values are briefly defined below.

According to Mason:

Aesthetic value: 'Beauty is in the eye of the beholder' means that the perception of beauty is subjective, so what one person finds aesthetic may not appeal to another, this notion could apply on values and especially the personally-ascribed ones. The aesthetic value revolves around the impressions, feelings and reactions generated when viewing a heritage asset; thus, it is more of a personal experience than a fixed judgment and varies according to the viewers. This value is perceived through senses, and accredit to the visual representation and qualities which a specific site enjoys such as the external facades or the creative interior design, in some cases, it involves the emotions created by sounds and smells (Mason 2002, p.12).

Socio-cultural values: It could be argued that these values are inter-connected with the aesthetic one, because they often ascribe to the beauty of the object; its age and meanings to a specific group of people. These values are communal and linked directly to the collective identity of a particular community, they could be generated with connection to prominent public figures or historic events which remained significant as time passes. Socio-cultural values might include (Mason 2002, pp.11-2):

- Historical values: which signify the essence of heritage meanings, and reflect the capability of a site to retain, pass on or evoke connections and relations to the past. These values are either generated from the relationship between heritage objects and people, or from the objects' uniqueness, 'material's age,' technical assets or from its 'archival potential.' There are two distinctive sub-types the historical values which are:
    - Artistic value: that relies on the object's rareness, or "being the best, being a good example of, being the work of a particular individual, and so on—is also a type of historical value."
    - Educational value: which is based on the object's capability to provide evidence of the past, and convey it to the future. As an example, "archaeology or an artist's creative interpretation of the historical record embodied in the heritage."
- Cultural value: embraces all the shared perceptions and notions connected to heritage which are not historic, meaning the ones that are not interrelated to a sequential quality nor contribute to the significant of the place. All heritage assets possess a cultural value which modifies the cultural relation of the present and could be presented through religious or political relationships.
- Religious value: reflected in buildings and sites of worship, which are designated to express, exercise and/or teach spiritual rituals. Many heritage sites have religious or holy meanings ascribed to them, this value is not individualistic and is recognized regardless of the viewer's religious beliefs.
- Political value: is encompassed in sites which were constructed to give legitimacy and credibility to a certain governmental authority, or in some cases to support a common feeling of belonging and shared identities on a domestic level. These values materialize the ability of heritage to provoke positive impacts on both the civil society and the political life by connecting them through tangible representations (Mason 2002, pp.11-2).

Economic values: Many people tend to categorize and recognize some object value, based on the profits it could generate, the same could be true when it comes to heritage and the way economic values are assessed and acknowledged by experts. Economic values rely heavily on the shared benefits and are resolved collectively rather than counting on individual opinions, those values could be of a market and non-market type. When a tangible heritage asset could be ascribed to a specific price which reflects the benefits this heritage provides, and could be trafficked in a market then the values are classified as market values. On the contrary, non-market values are those independent from pricing and cannot suggest a tangible profit when traded (Mason 2002, p.12).

Social value: When a heritage asset (site, building or object) enables people to establish a spiritual link to it, then it automatically gains a social value. This connection is created when people who use a place for social gatherings (any form of cultural events, celebrations, spiritual or political meetings), assert intangible feelings of collective identity, uniqueness and unity which are directly associated with the tangible place which hosted them. The social value is often expressed by genius loci or the 'spirit of the place' which embraces a shared feeling of belonging within social groups which interact with a specific place, on both the local and national levels (Mason 2002, p.12; Historic England 2015, p.32).

As stated in the Burra Charter (2013):

Historic value: Heritage assets that reflect a memory of an important event, activity or phase in history, and provides people in the present with an opportunity to interact with the past, are determined to have historic value. This type of value implicates other aspects of history which could be reviewed within history of aesthetics, science, art, architecture and society. This value is proportional to the authenticity of the site, when a specific heritage asset is preserved and its fabric remained intact, then its historic value becomes greater. Nonetheless, a historic site can retain its significance even if it was subjected to different approaches of fabric-treatment, which could include: preservation, restoration, rehabilitation and reconstruction; the site's historical value might change according to the degree of intervention, but would always exist (Australia ICOMOS 2013a).

Scientific value: Refers to the essential data provided by a heritage site, and its capability to reveal more in-depth characteristics which are associated with its past, through the use of archaeological techniques of researching and examining the site's fabric. The scientific value is relative and cannot

be conclusive, as it often depends on how unique the information recovered from a place, and the probable contribution to the uniqueness of the place itself or its surrounding. To determine this value, the work of sampling and testing might be necessary (Australia ICOMOS 2013a).

It is essential to acknowledge that a cultural heritage asset might convey more than one value, it is often that those values exist in harmony, but in some cases, they might be in conflict. Thus, in order to guarantee the best conservation practice, the management of the asset and its values-typology, traditionally followed one of the two major methods identified by the heritage conservation frameworks: a) one type of values dominates and excludes the others if existed, this treatment does not consider the sum of all values. For instance, favoring the economic value of a heritage site over the historic one, might lead to mistreatment of the place: when the number of visitors rises to generate more benefits without taking any precautions to safeguard the site's fabric, great damage might be caused (Mason 2002, p.8). This approach was later denied in the Burra Charter text which states that (Australia ICOMOS 2013a, p.4): "Conservation of a place should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others."

The second type of treatment is: b) merging all the values in one word: significance, this approach is deemed problematic because it does not recognize all the different types of values but often mystify them or overlook some on account of others. As an example, a given historic site which is a place for worship like a church or a mosque, is valued for its artistic characteristics and great architectural features, hence this recognition neglects the site's meaning as a place of religious value, as a result people would automatically consider it a beautiful site rather than a sacred one (Mason 2002, pp.8-9). The urgent need for a conservation framework which considers the significance of a cultural heritage asset to conveys all the different types of values without favoring one, or neglecting the others was further researched in accordance with the text of the Burra Charter.

2.1.2 Archaeological heritage management

In recent years, the focus of heritage management practices was shifted from concentrating on the heritage asset itself to what values, attributes and significance it conveys. The rising public awareness of the importance of cultural heritage, posed a challenge to create a conservation practice which manages and ensures that the cultural asset is being used in a balanced way. The conservation decisions are often made in collaboration between the heritage authority; the different managers,

professionals and stakeholders, it is to be noted that those decisions should have a permanent, long-lasting impact on the heritage asset, rather than a temporal one. The type of values conveyed within a place does not only determine the best conservation practice; it concludes if the place is worth conserving or not, and whether the decision to neglect it would have negative consequences on the society in which the place exists (Myers et al. 2010, pp.34-8).

In emphasizing the importance of identifying the types of values embraced within a cultural heritage asset, and its role in deciding for the most appropriate management methods, anthropologist Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels (2008), writes that exploring the different types of values is crucial for revealing the different interests, interventions and requirements. She argues that the interpretation of the past and historic events, depends on the observer and varies between people according to their motivations and interests, by stating this she goes against the approach that deems the reconstruction of the past free of the individual reflection and understanding of values. In her opinion: "archaeology is shaped by its practices and exists in a social context that is decidedly contemporary" (Lafrenz Samuels 2008, p.80). The heritage management and resources appointed to an archaeological site are determined by the way the values and attributes are generated by the observer. Lafrenz Samuels explains the importance of the values-assessment process in determining the significance of a site and how it should be managed (2008, pp.72-3):

> The assignment of value to material heritage is, in the end, seen at all stages of a project: value prefigures the kinds of research questions being asked, the choices made in what is conserved and what is destroyed (whether for development or research programmes), how we categorise the heritage, how we manage it and mitigate impacts, and whether the material is deemed heritage at all. However, while the assignment of significance is a singular step within the process of determining how to manage a specific material heritage, it nevertheless affects and dominates the whole process.

The contemporary discourse on the concept of values has extended from an "inherent characteristic of material heritage that could be objectively assessed," to "being subjective, dynamic and related to the aims and goals of actors." In other words, the values of heritage assets which are identified and ascribed by heritage professionals and stakeholders, must consider and balance the different interests of those involved and their distinctive views when assessing the site's significance (Van der Linde 2012, p.33).

It is important to highlight that the Burra Charter in its 1979 version defined the term cultural significance as "aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations," the spiritual value was integrated into the 1999 version (Australia ICOMOS 1999). The charter denies the prospect of an objective assessment of the detected inherited values of archaeological structures, it argues that managing the cultural significance of a tangible heritage asset, entails many conflicts which are often generated from the various interests of the stakeholders included in the site (Van der Linde 2012, p.34).

The different stakeholders involved and their views on the concept of values contributed to establishing a "multi-vocal, multi-temporal, multi-spatial" framework for significance assessment, which formed the basis of many decisions related to heritage management projects nowadays (Van der Linde 2012, p.48). Stakeholders here include "individuals or groups who have an interest in, or value, an archaeological site or cultural heritage place." Those stakeholders could be from the locals, represented by organizations, businesses owners, local authorities and ethnic or religious groups, as well as people connected to the history of the place, inhabiting it or its surrounding. In some cases, stakeholders might be national organizations or groups which are responsible for managing the asset according to the states' policies (Myers et al. 2010, p.2).

In order to balance the values ascribed to a heritage asset, as well as the interests of the different stakeholders, a value-based approach to manage cultural heritage was developed and was defined as (de la Torre 2005; Quoted in Myers et al. 2010, p.1):

> The coordinated and structured operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts [...] and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place.

According to Worthing and Bond, a value-based approach is founded on the principle that a plan for cultural heritage management of a place or a site, can only be developed after identifying the significance of this heritage asset. This significance reflects the susceptible nature of heritage to many applications, interpretations, meanings, or values, which are changeable and attributed by many different individuals, professionals and heritage organizations (2007, pp.71-9). This modern approach advocates against the traditional heritage management approaches signified by heritage professionals, which are normally concentrated on conserving the tangible fabric of a place, and its authentic and integral materials. It covers intangible aspects of heritage and improves public

participation and local capacity building, within the contemporary conservation practice (de la Torre 2005; Mason 2006; Van der Linde 2012).

2.1.3 Assessing cultural significance

The conservation project should, as stated in the Burra Charter, start with assessing the values of the heritage asset, which is carried out through implementing the following steps: locate the significance; attach values to the asset's characteristics; draft a detailed analysis for the site's threats and opportunities; and finally, define working measures and strategies (Australia ICOMOS 2013a). The statement of significance should include and clarify the justifications of all the conservation measures implemented in a site, and should enable future adaptations and alternations without harming the asset's authentic fabric.

According to the Practice Note: Understanding and Assessing Cultural Significance, that accompanies the Burra Charter: "cultural significance is the sum of the qualities or values that a place has, including the five values—aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual— that are listed in (Article 1.2) of the Burra Charter" (2013b. p.1). It further explains that "cultural significance is embodied in the place—in its fabric, setting, use, associations and meanings," accordingly the assessment process should "include defining the tangible and intangible attributes that embody each aspect of cultural significance." As well as "cultural significance of a place is assessed by analysing evidence gathered through the physical investigation of the place, research and consultation" (2013, p.5). In other words, assessing cultural significance relies heavily on the gathering of data sources, acquired by on-site excavations and the available records which documented the heritage asset and the changes that accompanied its usage over time. Once all the relevant information is obtained, they should be evaluated according to the set of values identified by the Burra Charter.

Understanding the heritage asset's structure and fabric, as well as the changes that occurred over time is essential to investigate the site's significance. One could consider aspects such as: the elements which make this place significance; whether its values depend on the physical fabric and to which extent; the existence of accompanying items associated with the place and boosting its importance; the range of values and the stakeholders asserting them; the importance of the location and interaction with the surrounding environment. Conservation decisions must consider the alternations which could change the site's fabric and affect its authenticity and integrity,

information on the level of changes must be recorded as well as keeping track of evaluation and monitoring the decisions made to sustain the significance.

The Burra Charter indeed was designated to manage places of cultural significance within Australia, it had a strong influence on the international community within the field of cultural heritage management. The statement of significance of the charter became mandatory for State Parties when nominating a heritage property for the UNESCO World Heritage List, under the name Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). This value reflects the importance of the property for the whole humankind, and its contribution to people's understanding of the history and the development of the world's heritage (UNESCO 1972; UNESCO 2005a).

The World Heritage Convention

The 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, also known as the World Heritage Convention aims to encourage collaboration among nations to safeguard heritage assets, which own an outstanding universal value and conserve them for the future generations. Those assets were identified in its Preamble as "parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and; therefore, need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole." The convention recognized according to (Article 8) "an Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value, called, the World Heritage Committee" (UNESCO 1972). It must be noted that a definition of the outstanding universal value wasn't provided in the convention but in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention which was adopted by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee and amended in 1978.

The Operational Guidelines identifies the procedure for the inscription on the World Heritage list which requires the fulfilment of several criteria, those guidelines were being updated until the version in 2005 which states that in order to have an outstanding universal value, a cultural property should (UNESCO 2005a, pp.19-20):

i. represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
ii. exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

iii. bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
iv. be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
v. be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
vi. contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance.

The nominated cultural asset for the World Heritage List must meet at least one of the criteria listed above, accompanied by achieving the conditions of authenticity and integrity and provide a suitable management plan. Those criteria were adopted by ICOMOS when examining and deciding whether a particular heritage property's nomination file should be excluded or included in the tentative list on the State's national level. This list contains the properties which are considered by a nation to be 'important for all humanity,' following this nomination the file could be sent to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee for recognition and inclusion on the World Heritage List. The list serves the purpose of "identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered being of outstanding value to humanity" and only assets that are recognized to have an outstanding universal value are to be included on it. This exclusion of heritage assets that do not achieve a universal value arguably goes against the statement of the convention that claims a "deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world" (UNESCO 2005a).

When the outstanding universal value of a cultural asset is threatened by natural or human-made disasters, the inscribed heritage site should be added to the List of World Heritage in Danger. The World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2005a) under Article (11.4) states that a world heritage site is considered 'endangered' when it is "threatened by serious and specific dangers" so that "major operations are necessary and for which assistance has been requested."

In 2013, Syria's six World Heritage Sites were placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger, to draw attention to the threats that are facing those sites because of the ongoing war. Despite that the danger listing "intended to mobilize all possible support for the safeguarding of these properties which are recognized by the international community as being of outstanding universal value for

humanity as a whole" (UNESCO 2013), there has been no tangible measures nor aid provided to support the protection of Syria's heritage property. The outstanding universal value of Syria's cultural heritage has been profoundly affected by the conflict, but the impacts are yet to be measured and examined.

2.2 Moving beyond a value-based approach

As explained throughout this section of the work, the best conservation practice to manage a heritage property could be assured when carrying out a thorough assessment of the values retained within the historic fabric, as well as identifying the different stakeholders and balancing their interests. The question to be asked here, whether this method is realistic and adequate in the case of managing a damaged city fabric in a post-conflict situation. The author argues that, while there is not a conclusive nor a definite answer; following the process of the Burra Charter for managing cultural heritage 'in the immediate post-conflict phase' is not feasible for many reasons. Such as: the damage assessment process takes a long time to be conducted, and rebuilding processes start immediately when the fighting is concluded; when the destruction is not limited to singular significant buildings but extends to cover the whole city fabric; thus, identifying the values within the remains would take a long time which cannot be spared; in cases where the city's residents were forcibly displaced due to the battles, and cannot be located; therefore, the current stakeholders cannot be classified; and, lack of finances and relying on foreign investments which interests are yet to be identified.

Another point is the claim that the value-based approach centres people at the heart of the conservation practices, and that it offers an equal opportunity for all stakeholders, and balances their interests remain void and impractical. While the hypothesis of the value-based approach which portrays it as a mediator between the different stakeholders and their interests and values, seems to be taken for granted, in reality the approach does not set any criteria according to which -in cases of conflicts-, the conservation decisions are to be made. This insufficiency and lack of structure give ultimate power for the authorities, and could turn the value-based approach into a political tool which could discriminate based on favoring and selectivity of both stakeholders and values (Poulios 2010, pp.172-3).

The Cottbus Document

As laid down in the Burra Charter, cultural significance and values assessment should guide the decision-making process and its implementation, the new document 'Guidelines on Safeguarding Cultural Significance of Urban Structures Damaged by War and Aggression' also known as the Cottbus document conveys the same principles but has a "far simpler and more immediate objective." The document which was called for by Professor Leo Schmidt, the chair of architectural conservation at the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, in 2017 was developed in collaboration with many international experts[3] involved in the heritage field (Annex 1).

The guidelines of the document aim to "provide local politicians, urban planners, architects and engineers who are faced with the practical and immediate task of devising strategies for rebuilding war-damaged cities and towns of significant heritage value with easily applicable directions" (Schmidt 2017, p.193). According to the document, the word 'destruction' does not reflect an honest terminology when tackling the issue of war-damaged cities, and that deeming a city 'destroyed' is easier to pass on radical approaches when deciding for the way cities should be rebuilt, "calling a city destroyed means there is nothing left to salvage, that one can go in with heavy machinery, dig up all the rubble and put it on a huge scrap-heap, a rebuild from scratch according to whatever urban concept happens to be the flavour of the day" (Schmidt 2017, p.194).

In agreement with the principles of Burra Charter, the document states that heritage values cannot be assessed independently from people who manage or have interests in the place, and while cultural significance is embodied in both the fabric and the location of the property, it also reflects the thoughts, interests and emotions of the different stakeholders. The decision regarding a war-damaged historic-cities should be made on a 'joint basis' which balances the values and interests, and works hand in hand with the principles of the international conventions. The document proposes several intervention categories by which dealing with a damaged place of significance could be made based on 'desk and ground assessment.' The intervention categories distinguish three areas of cultural significance: "a) highest level which should enjoy the highest degree of protection b) possessing a degree of cultural significance that warrants protective policies on a more generalised level c) possess little or no cultural significance" (Schmidt 2017, pp.195-7). The

[3] The list of the co-authors is provided in (Annex 1)

intervention categories detail some measures to be undertaken when addressing the rebuilding of damaged historic cities, and while the document is still in its developing stages, it sets excellent guidelines which could be applicable in the immediate post-conflict situation in the old city of Aleppo.

The next section of the thesis will examine the different realms of post-conflict management approaches which were developed and implemented theoretically and practically, in order to determine an approach for reconstructing old Aleppo. In connection with the first section which stresses the importance of cultural heritage, the restoration of a damaged historic fabric forms a necessity to achieve reconciliation in post-conflict situations, but it has always to be carried out following the people to which this historic fabric is deemed 'significant.' The traumatic effects of heritage destruction became a focus of the contemporary heritage discourse that promoted the debate on the way heritage assets should be managed, during and after conflicts in relation to people's identity and wellbeing. The following section displays a wide range of discussions on cultural heritage rebuilding in post-conflict situations in reference to the ones emerging after WWII, and the methods adopted to execute the reconstruction plans between replication, tabula rasa and historic preservation.

3 Section Three: Conceptualizing post-conflict reconstruction

"There are no buildings that have been built by chance, remote from the human society where they have grown and its needs, hopes and understandings, even as there are no arbitrary lines or motiveless forms in the work of masons. The life and existence of every great, beautiful and useful building, as well as its relation to the place where it has been built, often bears within itself complex and mysterious drama and history."

(Ivo Andrić 1999, p.21)

The debate over reconstruction is not a modern one; it dates back to the nineteenth century where the notion of understanding monuments in relation to the past was first documented. Western architects aimed to restore missing fabric or material within historic buildings by adding new parts which imitate the original, it has been suggested that French architect Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc was the pioneer in promoting this practice and making it acceptable to both common people and professionals. Viollet-le-Duc sought to restore using original elements of the monument, but later on developed his approach to adding new styles which he designed himself. It was until the beginning of the twentieth century that the work of Viollet-le-Duc was heavily criticized and even in some cases disregarded, as it did not reflect an honest restoration method and was more of a 'reconstruction' than a 'restoration' (Kalčić 2014, pp.130-3).

3.1 Post-1945 and the outset of the reconstruction debates

The early 20th century witnessed a rapid advance of military weapon technologies which enabled the warring countries to destroy a significant sum of heritage sites. Notable, the destruction of historic sites and buildings during World War I when many cathedrals, libraries and other cultural and religious inventories were destroyed; their destruction, however, was not deemed to be deliberate, unlike the case during World War II (Ascherson 2007, pp.19-20). With the onset of Nazism, new strategies of ethnic and cultural cleansing were introduced. A most prominent example was Germany's air raids on Britain 1942 when national monuments were intentionally targeted with the aim of destruction (Detling 1993, p.58).

When World War II ended, many cities were left in ruins, the sheer scale of damage of those cities' structures and historic buildings initiated the debate on how post-war reconstruction should look like. Questions related to the nature of these ruins and their symbolic meanings and values began to surface, as well as their contribution to the overall identities of the nations affected by the destruction. The reconstruction disputes revolved around whether to consider the destruction an opportunity to rebuild everything in a modern way, or to cherish the history and rebuild what had existed before the war exactly as it was.

As soon as the combats were concluded, there were immediate calls to rebuild the most recognized historic buildings that have been destroyed. Despite that people needed shelters and strived for the basics of life, they recognized the significance and values of their cultural heritage property and expressed a genuine wish to recover it. From 1945 on, the post-conflict rebuilding of damaged and destroyed cities was guided by two main approaches, creating replicas or merging the 'radical transformations of urban character' and 'architecture.'

3.1.1 Facsimile and radical transformations

The first reconstruction method is facsimile which refers to rebuilding "what was there, as it was, where it was," in other words recreating exact replicas of the damaged historic buildings or/and structures. This method was thought to assure continuity of the authentic traditional architectural techniques and styles by respecting the former historic identity of the buildings and their contribution to the overall post-war recovery process (Charlesworth 2006, p.27). It is important to note that this method considers the crisis as an interruption of the normal life-flow and does not take into consideration the dramatic effects it has on both people and city fabric (Woods 2001). The replicating of the most significant cathedral Frauenkirche in Dresden/Germany, and the partial rebuilding of the historic city centre in Warsaw/Poland form a clear demonstration of this approach.

The citizens of the German city Dresden expressed their desire for the immediate rebuilding of their most important historic building, which was reduced to rubbles during the war, the Frauenkirche. The reconstruction; however, could not be realized instantly because of the lack of funds and the unstable political atmosphere which lasted until early 1990 (Stanley-Price 2007, p.10).

Post-war reconstruction has always been a debatable and controversial issue which involves many aspects. As an example, the refabricating of the historic centre in Warsaw was under the influence of the socialist political realism which concluded in producing an extremely revised version of the city instead of restoring its pre-war character and identity. It has been suggested that the rebuilding of central Warsaw aimed to return what was targeted intentionally by the Germans, instead of restoring what has existed (Charlesworth 2006, p.27).

The Capital Reconstruction office (Biuro Odbudowy Stolicy — BOS) which was established in Warsaw in 1945, organized in cooperation with the National Museum an exhibition on the capital's reconstruction. In its guidebook it reads: "living symbols without which a nation cannot exist must be rebuilt, while epochs must be brought back to plastic life, the epochs which were to be wiped out from the records of our civilization" (Quoted in Ascherson 2007, p.21).

The intentions of the German raids determined the way Poland viewed the reconstruction of cultural assets and its symbolic value for the Polish nation. Beside implementing extreme violence and mass killings, the Germans used the destruction of Polish heritage as a tool to exterminate Poland's identity and existence. A German raid on Warsaw in 1939 resulted in the destruction of "782 out of 987 historical monuments in the central area." Germany's aggression against Poland's cultural museums, archives and historic buildings continued 'in the aftermath' of the 1944 'Warsaw Rising' with orders from Hitler to raze the city to the ground (Ascherson 2007, p.21). The Germans made their aims to annihilate the Polish culture clear; therefore, when the exhibition to reconstruct the old town took place in 1945, the following statement was included in the guidebook:

> The destruction of the symbols of our national state existence, the wiping out of those components of our national civilization which constituted the splendour and the distinctiveness of that civilization [...] was to make possible the introduction of architectural elements quite foreign to us, the Germanisation of the city landscape which [...] was to kill culture and the nation. In other words, a gigantic Oświęcim [Auschwitz] for the whole nation, perfected by German humanism (Quoted in Ascherson 2007, p.21).

In Warsaw 1946, an announcement for launching a conservation program for cultural heritage was made to declare "not accepting that our cultural monuments should be wrestled away from us, we will erect them, reconstruct them in order to relay for future generations at least their form, alive in our memories and records, even if it is not authentic" (Quoted in Barański 1994, p.48).

Figure 3.1 *Old town market place of Warsaw in 1945* (Marek Tuszyński 1945)

In his article, *Ruins, Rubble and Human Remains: Negotiating Culture and Violence in Post-Catastrophic Warsaw*, Jerzy Elżanowski (2012) investigates the reconstruction operations of the BOS which were conducted in Warsaw between 1945 and 1949, and included investigating and surveying the physical state of buildings within the city, so as to decide for their demolition, conservation or reconstruction. He states that the detailed surveys intended to "assess the state of the city's destruction in order to attempt a comprehensive reconstruction strategy, and to create a legal basis for mass demolition necessary for a substantial morphological restructuring of the city" (2012, p.119). The inspection of the buildings was carried out by surveyors appointed by the BOS and sent all over Warsaw. Their work was to locate buildings on given maps (pre-war cadastral plans), to provide information on the buildings' state and to categorize those buildings according to each's damage degree[4] (2012, p.120). BOS effort for mapping the damages/destruction within Warsaw was described as an attempt to "translate the image of destruction into the technical language of numbers and drawings" which "unintentionally resulted in the future aesthetic manipulation of data in maps for ideological purposes" (Elżanowski 2012, p.122).

Mistakes were made when the evaluation maps produced by the surveyors were rescaled and implemented in a larger-scale map within BOS main offices. As well as, when the architectural

[4] This was done by assigning different colours which reflect the level of damage that match a legend that was created by BOS (Elżanowski 2012, p.120). "Brown and red quadrants designated buildings destroyed either by fire or mines; blue meant surviving buildings" (p.123).

terminology of the surveys did not maintain its neutrality in documenting the damages. The semantic alternations came as a result of not limiting the surveys into documenting the damages, but extending them to involve the aggressors who carried out the act, in this case the 'Germans.' As explained by Elżanowski (2012, p.123):

> A building that in the 1:2500 scale BOS Destruction Survey Map was labelled "large percentage burned, but not the entire building/ e.g. preserved floor slabs" was then re-signified in the later verbosely named and ideologically positioned "Map of Warsaw at Scale 1:20,000 and Inventory of the Devastation Perpetrated by the Germans during the War 1939–1945" as "building destroyed by systematic setting on fire." "Undamaged building," was re-termed "building which the Germans have not succeeded in destroying."

When the plans were rescaled, the colours which reflected the level of damages were misinterpreted, the red and brown looked similar on the large-scale map, and the city center "looked uniformly destroyed". The architectural distinctions made by BOS weren't specified and the map concluded that "84% of the city center was destroyed," with the colours on the map to support this allegation (Elżanowski 2012, p.124). Declaring this percentage of destruction paved the way for BOS to implement its politics which complimented the "modernists' views on reconstruction", as well as adopting a communist-based propaganda which "expounded on the evils of 'bourgeois' nineteenth century fabric." With the ultimate governmental support, BOS ordered the demolition of "substantial fragments of more or less damaged nineteenth century fabric in order to implement modernist urban plans developed prior to the war" (Elżanowski 2012, p.133). This misrepresentation and manipulation of the documentation process, declaring many buildings 'destroyed' instead of damaged, made it easier for BOS to gain approval for its reconstruction plans, which meant that many buildings were deliberately demolished even though they could have been saved.

The 'near-total reconstruction' of the historic heart of Warsaw was particularly significant because it made sure that the conflict which resulted in the centre's 'destruction' was not to be forgotten, and that the newly reconstructed site is a representation of the will to live and recover. In 1980 the historic centre was inscribed on the World Heritage List, part of the statement of Outstanding Universal Value reads as (UNESCO 2017b):

> Warsaw was deliberately annihilated in 1944 as a repression of the Polish resistance to the Nazi German occupation. The capital city was reduced to ruins with the intention of obliterating the

Figure 3.2 *Post-war reconstruction of old town market place in Warsaw* (Dennis Jarvis 2009)

> centuries-old tradition of Polish statehood. The rebuilding of the historic city, 85% of which was destroyed, was the result of the determination of the inhabitants and the support of the whole nation. The reconstruction of the Old Town in its historic urban and architectural form was the manifestation of the care and attention taken to assure the survival of one of the most important testimonials of Polish culture. The city was rebuilt as a symbol of elective authority and tolerance.

The evaluation of the rebuilding of Warsaw's centre, noted that (ICOMOS 1978):

> The reconstruction of the historic centre so that it is identical with the original, symbolizes the will to insure the survival of one of the prime settings of Polish culture and illustrates, in an exemplary fashion, the efficiency of the restoration techniques of the second half of the 20th century.

The reconstructed old town gained international recognition as a 'positive example' which in turn made possible for future reconstructed cultural assets to be inscribed as well (Cameron and Wilson 2016, p.13):

> After much hesitation, the World Heritage Committee listed the historic city of Warsaw in 1980 as an 'exceptionally successful and identical reconstruction of a cultural property which is associated with events of considerable historical significance.' It went further. 'There can be no question of inscribing in the future other cultural properties that have been reconstructed.' The Committee's

Figure 3.3 *Historic centre of Warsaw as it looks today* (Powel Kobek n.d.)

> Operational Guidelines were amended accordingly so that criterion (vi) could only be used in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria. Despite a couple of exceptions, the Committee has remained unsympathetic to reconstructions over its first three decades.

The second reconstruction method adopted in post-WWII, revolved around merging rebuilding and 'radical transformations of urban character' and 'architecture,' an example of this approach could be seen in the rebuilding of Coventry, Berlin and Beirut (Charlesworth 2006, p.27). It could be argued that this approach is based on demolishing both damaged and destroyed buildings and build something new, this new; however, could be an updated version of the old, or something completely different (Woods 2001). Donald Gibson, the first city architect responsible for the rebuilding of the city centre of Coventry in 1941, was the one who introduced this new method, he stated that (Quoted in Charlesworth 2006, p.28): "Now is the opportunity, which may never recur, to build a city designed for the future health, amenity and convenience of the citizens. The city is being made a test case, and its solutions will form a guide to the other cities, which have been similarly devastated."

There has been widespread mourning when the St. Michael's Cathedral of Coventry was destroyed and turned into a heap of stones, the people of Coventry demanded the reconstruction of their medieval cathedral on the next day of its destruction in 1940. Nonetheless, the

Figure 3.4 *Coventry Cathedral remains after the 1940 Blitz* (Coventry City 2016)

inhabitants of the city continued to use the space for worship and mass continued to take place on the remaining ruins in the open air. Occupying the ruins was seen as a way to signal solidarity and resistance but the need to resurrect a new cathedral was undebatable. The desperate outcry for rebuilding the church was described by the British architect Hugh Casson as follows (1945, p.22):

> Save us, then, some of our ruins, not as moral warnings, not as symbols of vengeful memory, but as places of rest and worship, and above all as reminders of the sacrifices, the gallantry and the faith of those who fought and died, many thousands of them among these very stones whose existence today is a testament that they did not die in vain.

The rebuilding process was realized years later by erecting a new church adjacent to the ruins of the wrecked one (WMF 2011):

> Today, the excavated remains of the priory and the post-war cathedral coexist alongside the ruins of St. Michael, linking past to present. The ruins are still consecrated and used as a gathering place and site of reflection, and the weathered medieval sandstone of the tower, apse, and outer walls frame the open-air space.

Figure 3.5 *Coventry's two cathedrals with the ruins of the former cathedral on the left* (WMF 2011)

3.1.2 Rebuilding post-war Germany

Professor of history Jeffry Diefendorf, discussed in his most famous book *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities After World War II*, the views of German town planners post 1945 on how the rebuilding of the bombed German cities should be. The post-war planners considered the pre-war condition of the cities to be dysfunctional and unfit for the high population growth, which was in many cases not taken into consideration throughout the planning process. Diefendorf (1993) argues that the destruction after the Second World War was seen as a great opportunity for the planning profession, and an urge for the rebuilding of the new towns to be carried out in a modern way. It is worth noting that hardly any German planner expressed his wish to reconstruct the ruined cities as they were before the war.

The main source for planning concepts of the 'ideal cities' was then inspired by the European discourse which circulated in the western world since the turn of the century. The notion of the German post-war planning adopted, in some suburb areas the garden city movement which was initiated in 1898 by Sir Ebenezer Howard. His method states that communities should be self-contained and residency, agricultural, industrial and cultural areas should all be surrounded by greeneries (Diefendorf 1993, p.153).

The other concept considered for the German cities planning was influenced by Le Corbusier's functional and modernist theories and based upon the 1933 Athens Charter and a series of urban

studies produced by the International Congresses for Modern Architecture (CIAM). The Charter called for the creation of the 'functional city' where cities are divided according to function-based zones and separated from each other by greenbelts, designed-transportation and car-oriented systems (Mumford 2000, p.25).

In late 1943 and by instructions of German Architect and former Reich Minister of Armaments during Nazi Germany, Albert Speer, a huge concentration on systematically rebuilding the bombed cities was launched and carried out by many city planners that formed what was known as "Arbeitsstab Wiederaufbauplanung." According to Speer the attention should not be limited to the cities' pre-war planning methods, but to learn from other planning concepts throughout Europe, as well as not focusing on rebuilding individual buildings but on the structures of the cities and their infrastructure planning (Diefendorf 1993, pp.172-4).

In order to analyse the contested approaches for post-war reconstruction in Germany, between preservation and rebuilding to illustrate certain ideologies, I draw on the work of urban historian Brian Ladd (2005, pp.117-29) which discusses the reconstruction of Berlin upon the end of World War II. The east/west division of Europe transformed in 1961 into a physical barrier known as the Berlin Wall, which crosses through the city and deepens its division between east and west. Each side of Berlin had its own governmental and economic policies even before the creation of the wall, as well as a significant approach for creating urban spaces and buildings which reflected its political life between capitalism and socialism.

While the rebuilding of the east side was following Socialist Realism under the Soviet Union, the west side of the city was under the influence of the allies and their capitalist policies, social and cultural styles. Lefebvre commenting on recreating new Berlin stated that (1991, p.56): "It is argued that only bulldozers or Molotov cocktails can change the dominant organization of space that destruction must come before reconstruction." The approach in western Germany was described by Neumeyer and Ortner (1997, p.215):

> The modernization took place after 1945 based on zones and on functional and spatial concepts. The freeing up of the city is gauged in road cuttings with green separation strips and occasional high-rise buildings, which offer a conscious contrast to the historical plan of the nineteenth century.

According to Professor of architecture Greg Castillo, the reconstruction of Berlin was a dilemma between the east and west parts of the city, and their approaches that reflected the Cold War period

which was fought through reshaping the city using urban and architectural policies (Castillo 2001, p.182):

> By 1948, strategies of ideological containment had turned Europe into an unlikely set of nesting boxes: a divided continent, which encased a divided Germany, which contained a divided metropolis. Traversed by the fault line of geopolitical confrontation, Berlin assumed a variety of singular Cold War roles, including its use as a showcase for the West's International Style and its Socialist Realist "other."

3.1.3 Between replication and building anew

When examining different methods and approaches for the reconstruction of buildings and urban fabric, one should allocate the illuminating work of the American Architect Lebbeus Woods with the focus on his book *Radical Reconstruction*, first published in 1997. His opinion is particularly significant because it sheds light on some psychological aspects linked to post-trauma reconstruction. Whether it came as a result of conflict or by natural disasters: Woods considers the two notions of reconstructing replicas or rebuilding anew after a harrowing event, as a portray of hope which is expressed by the city's inhabitants in order to recover the trauma and 'get back to normal.' Nonetheless, to follow these methods explicitly would lead to stripping people from their memories of the event, and is a deliberate attempt to ignore the incident's horrific consequences on those who endured it, and by consequences he does not only mean the 'psychological effects' but those alternating 'people's social, political, and economic relationships.' Woods claims that "It is not possible to get back to normal," the destruction of war is not limited to destroying people's homes and cities, it exceeds this to destroying their daily life activities and interactions with each other. Using rebuilding could add to the healing process, but does not form its essence, and one cannot expect the course of recovery to commence immediately by reconstructing significant buildings (Woods 2011).

"The scar is a deeper level of reconstruction that fuses the new and the old, reconciling, coalescing them, without compromising either one in the name of some contextual form of unity" (Woods 2001, p.16).

Woods does not deny reconstruction its importance, on the contrary he contemplates rebuilding and restoring the destroyed buildings as an instinctive response to the conflict's destructive outcome. However, he argues that conservation processes should be limited to sites of historic

significance as mosques, churches and other cultural monuments which represent the city's cultural identity and have a tight bond with the inhabitants' memory. He goes on explaining why normal or ordinary buildings should not be restored to their pre-war structures, he concludes that they do not reflect or symbolize anything worth remembering or preserving. In his argument against restoring the whole urban fabric of the city affected by a conflict, he states that to reconstruct everything to its pre-conflict condition is to deny the truth about this city and the pain it underwent. It would tell an incomplete narrative of a city that did not suffer; a city that does not need to heal and is only there to attract tourists, a city with no identity or memory. He insists that cities are made by the events they experience, good or bad ones, they are made by the devastating stages they endure and the changes they bear, those changes and event are referred to here as 'scars.' And, as long as those scars are seen then the city has preserved its true story and its people should be allowed to remember, grieve and mourn the loss of their city through the visibility of those scars which is, a healthy step on the way to heal and recover (Woods 2001, passim). In his own words (2001, p.16): "The scar is a mark of pride and of honour, both for what has been lost and what has been gained. It cannot be erased, except by the most cosmetic means. It cannot be elevated beyond what it is, a mutant tissue, the precursor of unpredictable regenerations."

That being said, the damage of the buildings should be displayed in a vibrant statement of remembrance and a witness of war crimes, violence and loss, instead of being covered and disregarded like nothing has happened. The scars can be concealed through reconstruction but their existence cannot be denied; thus, the newly reconstructed city should respect its wounds and offer a new start for those inhabiting it (Woods 2001, p.15):

> Wherever buildings are broken by the explosion of bombs or artillery shells, by fire or structural collapse, their forms must be respected as an integrity, embodying a history that must not be denied. In their damaged states they suggest new forms of thought and comprehension, and suggest new conceptions of space that confirm the potential of the human to integrate itself.

In that sense, the voids within the buildings or the city's fabric created by conflict, can be filled with new structures to form a new space within the existing one, on condition that the new parts are distinguished and can reflect what has been destroyed and what has been spared. The integrated parts automatically acquire new values and meanings with the ability to display the gains and the losses during the living-crisis. Woods explains that conflicts come and go but the city remains, resilient as it is and yet obtains new historic layers and meanings (Woods 2001, pp.15-7).

3.2 Discourse on heritage reconstruction

"The distinction between past, present and future is only an illusion, even if a stubborn one" (Quoted in Davies 1995, p.70).

Albert Einstein's words convey the difficulty of displaying accurate historic narratives in order to create a true separation between the three dimensions of time fabric: past, present and future. His statement arguably forms the core of the strongest disputes against heritage preservation which is adopted by those who stand against the conception of heritage reflecting the past. While Tunbridge and Ashworth claim that "the present selects an inheritance from an imagined past for current use and decides what should be passed on to an imagined future" (1996, p.6), Smith puts it forward to the fact that (2006, p.58): "the past can never be understood solely within its own terms; the present continually rewrites the meaning of the past and the memories and histories we construct about it within the context of the present." One could conclude that cultural heritage is, according to the former statements, a changeable notion which complies with the choices of those responsible for it; therefore, heritage and the decisions to conserve it for the future cannot be viewed as a neutral thing from the past but more of an evolving concept produced entirely in the present.

"Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past" (Orwell 1977, p.35).

George Orwell's famous quote displays many unfolded meanings within, one could start with the mutability of information on the past by those responsible for writing, re-writing and defining history. The way we perceive our inherited legacy and perception of whom we are highly relying on the constructed narratives; therefore, determining our common heritage could easily be manipulated and forged through false configuration of the past. The work of Johnson and Thomas consider heritage to be (1995, p.170): "virtually anything by which some link, however tenuous or false, may be forged with the past," in this sense, heritage is constructed, could be destructed and reconstructed according to certain historic sequence, political decisions and agendas to create a particular narrative of the past events.

This statement echoes the work of the German sociologist Helmut Anheier and Indian social anthropologist Yudhishthir Raj Isar, who consider that (2007, p.435): "destruction itself is also a part of history, the decision to rebuild is politically charged sometimes cleansing history of its scars and delivering an incomplete narrative." Now, as a case in point and to display how both the

destruction and reconstruction acts follow the agendas of those responsible for the politics: the reconstructed museums and other cultural entities in former Yugoslavia were politically charged and decisions were made on which political figures and narratives to promote and which to hide and ignore (Viejo-Rose 2007, p.107).

Professor of archaeology and heritage, Cornelius Holtorf joins the discussion on the biased nature of the decisions concerning the preservation and conservation of cultural heritage, he argues that (2006, p.101): "destruction and loss are not the opposite of heritage but part of its very substance," as he explains further:

> It is not the acts of vandals and iconoclasts that are challenging sustainable notions of heritage, but the inability of both academic and political observers to understand and theorize what heritage does, and what is done to it, within the different realities that together make up our one world.

While many consider the restoration of historic buildings or the reconstruction of heritage property that follow a tragic event like conflicts or wars is inevitable for the healing process, another approach goes completely against the previous and calls it an absolute spoil. One of the lead supporters of this approach is Professor of heritage management Gregory Ashworth who defines heritage as (2011, p.3): "a condition deliberately created in response to current political, social or economic needs."

In Ashworth's opinion, heritage has nothing to do with portraying the past or reflecting historic narratives, it is rather something that has been created by humans to serve a specific objective: "heritage is about creating something, not about preserving anything" (Lowenthal 1985; Quoted in Ashworth 2011, p.10). The past in this regard is framed by social groups in the present by exploiting events and emotions in the past: (2011, p.10): "the purpose is thus not to preserve anything from the past but to use the past in the present: the use determines and, in that sense, creates the resource rather than use being a subsequent action for something already preserved."

There has been much controversy concerning the ongoing discussion on the reconstruction of many temples in the World Heritage Site of Palmyra in Syria, after they were intentionally destroyed by the terrorist group the Islamic State in August 2015. Soon after the 'recapturing and freeing' of the historic city by the Russian-backed Syrian army, the government vowed to reconstruct what has been destroyed immediately. This affirmation to rebuild the historic sites is arguably seen as a strong propaganda tool used by the Syrian regime, that it is the sole protector of

Syria's past and heritage, and in turn would boost its popularity in and outside the country (Snell 2016).

The work of Ashworth did not just consider heritage preservation and reconstruction a waste, it regarded the whole process as nonviable because "heritage is delusion" and it is understandable that one cannot preserve what does not exist in real life. "It is not just that what we create is illusory and has no direct connection to any supposed realities of past, present or future, it is that the process of heritage creation, re-creation and [...] obliteration, exists within a miasma of necessary delusion" (2007, p.13).

In other words, Ashworth considers heritage to be an illustration of power which has been created, misused and has led to many conflicts. He argues that all the decisions concerning heritage preservation or rebuilding are politically controlled and do not serve to save the past but more of directing images in the present. Those who are in power create heritage as a reflection of the past they want and they decide how to manage it according to their needs and interests of the present: "new presents will constantly imagine new pasts to satisfy changing needs" (Ashworth 2011, p.11). In line with the notion that heritage is merely a political tool, which illustrates chosen narratives, Sociologist Henri Lefebvre argues that (1991, p.143):

> Monumentality [...] always embodies and imposes a clearly intelligible message. It says what it wants to say - yet it hides a good deal more: being political, military and ultimately fascist in character, monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought.

Laurajane Smith, the director of the Australian Centre of Heritage and Museum Studies, draws on Ashworth's statement that heritage is constructed in the present rather than reflecting the past, she claims that "there is, really, no such thing as heritage" (2006, p.11). According to Smith, heritage is not a fixed thing which can be preserved or restored but "a process in which cultural and social values are rewritten and redefined for the needs of the present" (2006, p.273). Thus, it is a useful political tool which is designed to manipulate social groups by fostering a sense of community and claiming that specific buildings, sites and objects are their common heritage. Another argument made by Tunbridge and Ashworth that there are several versions of the past that vary according to the different social groups and context of events; therefore, the 'heritage' associated with these pasts is constructed and indefinite (1996, p.8): "there is an almost infinite variety of possible heritages, each shaped for the requirements of specific consumer groups."

There has been much-contradicting viewpoints and debates concerning the conservation of ancient objects, the discussion revolving around heritage preservation is intertwined with the way we conceptualize the past in relation to the present day and the future. The questions; however, remain if the future generation will be able to remember the past they have never witnessed through the conserved heritage? Will nowadays heritage be relevant in the future context?

"Because values are learned, they can be forgotten, and they can be learned anew [...] but values can be changed. Humanity is neither innately predisposed to certain values; nor is the content of values genetically determined" (Frey 1994, p.19).

Based on the precedent statement and by asserting the varying denotations of heritage values, one could reflect on the process of heritage destruction and reconstruction. It could be concluded that reconstructing and restoring what has been destroyed, has a dilemmatic aspect that we're recreating some kind of relevant reality and deciding on behalf of the future generations. This argument that posterity should continue to appreciate what we consider today significant and valuable without taking into consideration that nowadays values could mean nothing in the forthcoming years, and thus, denying any possible discussion on the recession of these values (Holtorf 2001, pp.3-4).

When discussing arguments against reconstruction, the work of English art critic and theorist John Ruskin has to be examined. In his book-length essay *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, he addresses the issue of imitating old buildings by adding 'age-marks' to the reconstructed structures. He argues that the architecture of the day should not aim to falsify its nature and look old as this act encloses dishonesty and forgery within. Restoration in his opinion denies the true narrative of the historic building, it is as if the building hasn't endured any suffering or destruction throughout its existence, which only leads to an inaccurate echo of the original structure. "Do not let us deceive ourselves in this important matter; it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture" (1849, p.179). He concludes his views on the act of restoration by stating that (1849, p.196):

> The thing is a Lie from beginning to end. You may make a model of a building as you may of a corpse, and your model may have the shell of the old walls within it as your cast might have the skeleton, with what advantage I neither see nor care: but the old building is destroyed, and that more totally and mercilessly than if it had sunk into a heap of dust, or melted into a mass of clay.

Accordingly, Ruskin considers another aspect of the reconstruction and the restoration of historic buildings, which is deemed to be a damaging interference as it intervenes with the natural aging cycle of buildings and tampers with its evolving original fabric. He claims that this aging process represents the buildings 'greatest glory' which is not reflected in 'its stones, nor in its gold' but 'in its age [...] it is in that golden stain of time' (1849, pp.186-7). Echoing Ruskin's work is the claim that heritage representations such as historic buildings, sites and objects are authentic while copies and rebuilt structures are not. English archaeologist Timothy Darvill articulates that archaeological objects and sites have an extraordinary aura which fake copies cannot imitate, in his own words (1993, p.6): "The archaeological resource is non-renewable in that [...] once a monument or site is lost it cannot be recreated."

Researcher Paddy Greer considers that sometimes the purpose of post-conflict reconstruction is "to recreate and anodyne imitation of the pre-conflict environment devoid of meaning and cleansed of the physical signs of conflict and the trauma of war" (Ferguson 2010, p.4). In line with Greer's statement, architect Robert Bevan examines diverse opinions on post-war reconstruction by displaying many examples of past experiences in which, reconstruction was used to promote fake narratives of the past, or to generate made-up identities. Bevan (2006, p.176) argues that "rebuilding can be as symbolic as the destruction that necessitated it." In his opinion, reconstructing heritage is not always utilized as a recovery method but could be used as a political tool to dominate and eliminate social groups by recreating a deceptive story of past incidents. In that sense, reconstruction could be considered a double-edged sword, on the one hand it could bring communities together and on the other it could lead to stripping them of their identity and memory. Ambiguous rebuilding makes it easy for new identities and memories to be forged to inquire a designed reality by those in power (Bevan 2006, pp.176-7).

It has been argued that the values associated with the reconstructed heritage after a conflict are constructed, either by the aggressor or by the victims themselves. As a reaction to the trauma they endured, people choose to create memorials of the struggle, sometimes to remember, forget or even honour those horrific events and the sacrifices of those who lost their lives during the conflict. The way a certain conflict is remembered or forgot is determined by the heritage reconstructed afterwards, it could be argued that both memories and the reactions to those memories are portrayed by the rebuilt monuments. For instance, Bevan draws on the posterior reaction of the American nation after the tragic event of September 11: the terrorist attack on the high-rise

symbolic landmark the World Trade Centre in 2001. The debate concerning the memorialization of the catastrophic event was lively and unsettled, according to Bevan (2006, p.198):

> Rebuilding may be an act of resistance to some, but to others disturbing a site where such a massive loss of life has occurred is a sacrilege [...] responses to the site ranged from rebuilding the twin towers in replica through to leaving the site permanently ruined as a tangible reminder of the devastation and as a mass grave.

Instead of reconstructing the twin towers, it has been decided to leave the spot where they once stood, void and turn the site into a memorial for the victims that were lost due to the terrorist attack. This in return would send a stronger message to the future generations that the past and the victims are not forgotten but honoured and remembered. Former NY governor, George E. Pataki vowed that (Fries 2002): "Where the towers stood is hallowed ground (...) there will always be a permanent and lasting memorial to those we lost." From that point on, the towers were considered a symbol of the resilient American nation in its fight against terrorism and barbarians and a statement of "freedom, democracy and civilization" (Bevan 2006, p.62). Arguably, the catastrophic event of the towers collapses and then the decision to leave their ground void, created more memory and contributed to history more than it has disturbed or destroyed. The mass number of people visiting the memorial is far more than those who used to visit the towers while that were still in place (Meskell 2002, pp.557-9).

Architect Ellen Soroka argues that (1994, p.234): "the debate as to whether to preserve as found or to restore with new construction has always to address the question: Why does the existing fabric have to be disturbed?" In her opinion, historic buildings and monuments should be preserved 'as found,' and little to no intervention should be allowed, because the existence of the missing parts in any structure is an evidence of the historic events that the site has endured. In line with Soroka's work, Holtorf states that (2006, p.103): "it can even be an advantage for remembering the past if little or no cultural heritage survives in material form. If heritage is said to contribute to people's identities, the loss of heritage can contribute to people's identities even more."

One prominent example of his statement is the monumental Berlin Wall, where less preservation has led to emphasizing a stronger memory and a deeper connection to the past. Professor Leo Schmidt argues that (2005, pp.15-6): "The most monumental remnant of the border is probably the vacuum it has left behind, visible and palpable over long stretches: the emptiness produced by its demolition [...] therefore even an emptiness can claim to be [...] a site of cultural significance."

While the preservation of heritage is viewed to have a positive impact on the historic objects, the possibility that it might lead to the creation of a new object with a complete different set of values cannot be eliminated. To some extent, any form of engaging with cultural heritage which ranges between the preservation to the destruction, lead to fundamentally transforming heritage sites, and both possess a historic significance to them. While reconstructing, rebuilding or maintaining past remains, a certain loss to the site's value is added (Lowenthal 1985, p.400).

History is about all these incidents taking place during a course of time, it is about change which involves in some cases loss. The remaking of history by the reconstruction of heritage reduces its importance and our perception of the past to re-create what we already had rather than create a modern image of an object which could fit more in the here-and-now context. The agony of loss and its essence was described by archaeologist Lynn Meskell when relating to the debate over the destruction of the two Buddha statues of Bamiyan (2002, p.561):

> For the Taliban, the Buddhist statues represented a site of negative memory, one that necessitated jettisoning from the nation's construction of contemporary identity, and the act of erasure was a political statement about religious difference and international exclusion. For many others today, that site of erasure in turn represents negative heritage, a permanent scar that reminds certain constituencies of intolerance, symbolic violence, loss and the 'barbarity' of the Taliban regime.

Meskell's statement clearly contradicts the official version of Taliban's story on the incident which was communicated for the first time by one of its envoys, Rahmatullah Hashimi who stated that "the Islamic government made its decision in a rage after a foreign delegation offered money to preserve the ancient works while a million Afghans faced starvation." The destruction of the statues according to his account was not generated because of religious reasons "Taliban would not destroy statues actually being worshiped, and would not touch the Hindu temples still left in Afghanistan," but was ignited when visiting European delegations accompanied by a representative of UNESCO deliberately ignored the fact that "a long drought and a harsh winter were confronting up to a million Afghans with starvation," and insisted on limiting their assist to "offer[ing] money to repair and maintain the statues." According to Hashimi the destruction of the statuses was undertaken as a reaction to the hypocrisy of the international community whom he addressed with "if you are destroying our future with economic sanctions, you cannot care about our heritage" (Crossette 2001).

Regardless of the contested versions of the event that led to the destruction of the statuses, the international community decried Taliban's 'cultural terrorism' (Meskell 2002, p.561), and shortly after, UNESCO appointed Paul Bucherer-Dietschi as a representative to oversee the reconstruction effort. Bucherer-Dietschi stated that: "the world should set an example to show extremists that today there are possibilities to reconstruct, and there is the will to reconstruct, such edifices after they are destroyed" (Dehghanpisheh 2001). True that the reconstruction of cultural heritage is crucial for healing the wounds of those who lived through the destruction of their significant urban environment and that, "reconstruction begins in the hearts and minds of those who suffer the horrors of war and want to change societies so that there is no return to mass violence" (Barakat 2005, p.1). The motivation beyond reconstructing the Buddhas of Bamiyan is still debatable especially that it is being viewed as a sole "step [to] bring thousands of tourists," and benefit the county financially, rather than aiming to achieve reconciliation for the affected community (Dehghanpisheh 2001).

This debate points out that the determination for the reconstruction approach could be manipulated by the political and economic situations, as well as the incompatible interests of the different stakeholders and professionals involved in the decision-making phase.

3.3 Perspectives on post-conflict reconstruction

It could be argued that the process of loss and decay that a monument endures during a course of time contributes to cataloguing its historic record and should not be disturbed by modern methods of preservation and reconstruction. The life-span of an archaeological site or a historic monument contains damage and in some cases destruction, so why should we intervene to rebuild or in other words to rewrite an old story of the chosen building?

In today's increasing damage and destruction of cultural heritage either by natural disasters or armed conflicts, the destiny of the targeted archaeological sites remains in the hands of both the domestic governments and the international agencies responsible for deciding for the best conservation practice. Most of the arguments in favor of reconstructing cultural heritage advocate for the role that culture plays in reviving cities' physical, economic and social fabrics in the post-conflict/post-disaster situations. UNESCO's Assistant Director-General for Culture, Ernesto Ottone Ramirez, states that: "Culture is a key source of resilience, reconciliation, and social cohesion for cities and communities" (UNESCO 19/11/2018a).

Post-conflict recovery plans are known to be long-term and include (but are not limited to) several stages of planning and consulting, funding, rehabilitating and rebuilding. It is noted that the reconstruction of cultural heritage assets is often neglected during the planning phase, and is considered a luxurious secondary source of relief in the latter phases. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in their publication *UNDP Policy on Early Recovery* 2008, cities endure four post-disaster stages in order to survive, these phases are: relief, early recovery, recovery, and development. To summarize these four aspects and in line with the work of David Alexander: in the relief phase the priority of the resources is focused on sparing human-lives and saving as many as possible; the early recovery phase includes restoring the infrastructure of the city and rehabilitating its facilities in order for its inhabitants to acquire their former daily activities within the city's boundaries; demolishing/repairing damaged buildings and reconstructing new ones in order to bring normality back into the city should be comprised during the recovery phase. The last part which is the development is designed to carry out and implement the recovery plans, as well as focusing on the economic recovery through reconstruction project which includes rebuilding heritage sites and/or monuments (Alexander 2007, pp.xiii-xxii).

The dispute made here is why should cultural heritage wait until the whole post-disaster situation is stabilized? There is no argument that the immediate human needs of security, food and shelter should be considered a priority, but cannot this go hand-in-hand with recovering cultural assets?

The Director-General of ICCROM, Nicholas Stanley-Price argues that, (2007, p.1): "Cultural heritage must be recognized as a crucial element of the recovery process immediately following the end of armed conflict, and not be considered a luxury to await attention later." He claims that through rebuilding cultural heritage instantly after active combat is terminated, people continue to have a connection with their past and their day-to-day life which existed prior to the conflict. In that sense, including cultural heritage in the early agenda when recovering a horrific event, would contribute to the overall reconciliation efforts and is considered a positive step towards social reconstruction.

Stanley-Price goes on with his text arguing for the significant role that heritage plays in mediating and sustaining a mutual cultural identity in society during the post-conflict situation. He points out that the nature of cultural heritage might change by the conflict but its essence is still derived from the past and that "culture will take on new forms; but often it is actually strengthened post-conflict with the revival of forms and traditions that had previously been obsolescent" (2007, p.8).

Quoting the work of the anthropologist Valene Smith, Stanley-Price draws on the recognition that culture transforms as a result of the conflict: "Wars are without equal as the time-markers of society. Lives are so irrevocably changed that culture and behaviour are marked by three phases: 'before the war,' 'during the war,' and 'after the war'" (2007, p.2). It could be concluded from the preceding statement that culture cannot be perceived in separation from its historic context which includes inevitable minimal or dramatic changes. In turn, the reconstruction of cultural heritage should not aim to portray culture as a "frozen notion," but to accept those changes and reflect them in the remaking process.

In the same volume, Sultan Barakat echoes Stanley-Price's work on the urgency to include the reconstruction of cultural heritage as a critical step for the overall recovery when conflict comes to an end. From his perspective the rebuilding of the tangible heritage would lead to the re-establishment of all the intangible aspects of economic well-being, emotions and memories that the affected society used to share and enjoy: "cultural heritage recovery usually needs to go beyond physical restoration and address the wider economic and social dimensions" (Barakat 2007, p.38).

In supporting the reconstruction of cultural heritage, Nora claims that both identity and "modern memory relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image" (Nora 1989, p.13). In other words, he argues that the existence and continuity of a certain community is brought together by the survival of its built settings. Hence, the rebuilding of the devastated historic buildings, monuments and sites, could and would restore the past connection between people and their collective identity and memory through recreating what represented those aspects in the present and the future. Neal Ascherson's work elucidates the significance of preserving archaeological objects and sites in connection to the surviving of identity. In his opinion, there are two intertwined types of identity: one of a social nature which people acquire by living in a certain community, and the other is of a collective nature which relies entirely on the historic built structures. In order for the social identity of a group to survive the aftermath of a brutal war, the collective identity should be protected and restored through the physical reconstruction of its representatives 'here archaeological sites and objects' (2007, p.17).

To "reconstruct" is to "recreate and remake" a place in its physical aspects, which would naturally lead towards "re-establishing" a bound in the communities that were shattered by the traumatic incidents of war or disaster (Campanella 2006; Charlesworth 2006). Reconstructing cultural heritage that has been damaged during conflicts is an inevitable strategy embraced by cities, each

following its method, for the sake of recovering and surviving. Professor of cities and society Stephen Graham, states that (2004, p.331):

> If any single characteristic defines cities, it is their resilience. Above all, cities have a propensity to survive. Cities endure. They recover. The very dynamism that makes cities grow, function and flourish also drives them to outlast even the most extreme violence pitted against them.

3.4 International legislation addressing 'reconstruction'

When addressing the question of whether to reconstruct damaged historic building and sites, the international guidelines, principles and legislation strongly advice against it. One of the most prominent legal resolutions which discussed the concept of 'reconstruction' is the Venice Charter, or the 1964 International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites which was adopted as the first of thirteen other resolutions during the Second Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings held in the city of Venice. It is significant to note that the second resolution paved the way for the creation of ICOMOS in the following year, which embraced the charter as its fundamental document. The charter was considered a major pace towards accomplishing better conservation and restoration practices concerning historic monuments and sites, it was seen as a pioneer in codifying manifest standards to manage site conservation activities which included identifying new notions such as authenticity and maintenance of ancient sites (ICOMOS 1964). Reflected in (Article 15) is the charter's position against reconstruction and its preference for conservation and restoration: "All reconstruction work should however be ruled out 'a priori.' Only anastylosis, that is to say, the re-assembling of existing but dismembered parts, can be permitted." The charter was revolutionary in its definition of a historic monument which is no longer limited to a 'single architectural work' but broadened to include "the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event" (Article 1). Historic monuments 'by principles of the charter' are valued as a common heritage that belongs to humanity and that a "common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity." Preserving their "full richness" means that reconstruction plans are accepted only when "traditional techniques and material" are developed and implemented. (Article 10) declares that when traditional working methods are inadequate "the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation

and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience" (ICOMOS 1964).

According to the Australian answer to the Venice Charter, the Burra Charter: "a place can be culturally significant regardless of its age, notions of conventional beauty, or the presence or absence of built form […] A place does not have to be 'old' to be historically or socially significant" (ICOMOS Practice Note 2013). With this in mind, the Burra Charter considers the reconstructed property to be significant, which goes against the notion of the Venice Charter of ruling out reconstruction practices. The Burra Charter in (Article 1.8) identifies that: "Reconstruction means returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric." The charter in that sense does not stand against reconstruction but urges a cautious approach which sustains (ICOMOS 1964):

> 20.1. Reconstruction is appropriate only where a place is incomplete through damage or alteration, and only where there is sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state of the fabric. In rare cases, reconstruction may also be appropriate as part of a use or practice that retains the cultural significance of the place.
> 20.2. Reconstruction should be identifiable on close inspection or through additional interpretation.

The "cautious approach" of reconstruction and replication includes having sufficient historic records and evidence, in order to avoid the falsification in the reconstructed structures which lead to producing something that was not even there to begin with, as suggested to have occurred in the case of Warsaw. From that point on, authenticity started to play a major role when considering the reconstruction of cultural heritage, and as a response to the increasing interest in the topic, the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity was produced during the ICOMOS Symposia held in the city of Nara in Japan. The main purpose of the Nara Document was to create a deeper understanding of the notion of "cultural heritage diversity" in order to achieve the best conservation practice. The document states that (5) "the diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind," it puts it forward to underline the fact that (8) "responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently to that which cares for it," and concludes with "the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all" (UNESCO 1994).

In relevance to making decisions when it comes to reconstructing a historic site or building, the Nara Document explains that the evaluation of authenticity varies when dealing with different sites, and that the historic evidence and its reliability fall in the same category especially when dealing with diverse communities, the document states that (UNESCO 1994):

> 11. All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong;
> 12. Therefore, it is of the highest importance and urgency that, within each culture, recognition be accorded to the specific nature of its heritage values and the credibility and truthfulness of related information sources.

Several regional treaties tackling the subject of reconstruction, restoration and preservation of historic monuments were drafted and signed, notably these national agreements are considered to be more inclusive in their principles and terms. Influenced by the Venice Charter's principles, the US Secretary of the Interior drafted in 1992 Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties which included a set of guidelines for preserving, rehabilitating, restoring and reconstructing historic buildings. Reconstruction according to this treaty was included as a preservation process rather than a whole detached approach (Grimmer 2017, pp.1-2)

Reconstruction was defined as (Grimmer 2017, p.3): "the act or process of depicting, by means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location." In this regard, reconstruction was to be conducted after a careful archaeological inquiry which reveals the site's historic record. The reconstruction standards were aimed to "establish a limited framework for re-creating a vanished or non-surviving building with new materials, primarily for interpretive purposes."

In 2000 ICCROM/Latvian National Commission for UNESCO/State Inspection for Heritage Protection of Latvia produced a document where reconstruction was fairly discussed. The Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage (hereafter, Riga Charter) considered that (5): "replication of cultural heritage is in general a misrepresentation of evidence of the past, and that each architectural work should reflect the time

of its own creation, in the belief that sympathetic new buildings can maintain the environmental context." However, it should be considered when it is "necessary for the survival of the place; where a 'place' is incomplete through damage or alteration; where it recovers the cultural significance of a 'place'; or in response to tragic loss through disasters whether of natural or human origin, and providing always that reconstruction can be carried out without conjecture or compromising existing in situ remains, and that any reconstruction is legible, reversible, and the least necessary for the conservation and presentation of the site" (Stovel 2001, pp.241-4).

In line with the notion of authenticity detected in the Riga Charter, reconstruction of historic sites and monuments was permitted under the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, but under several conditions that read as follows (2005, p.22): "In relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances. Reconstruction is acceptable only on the basis of a complete and detailed documentation and to no extent on conjecture."

As examined and discussed throughout this section, the rebuilding approaches vary according to the different ideologies and terminologies of those executing them. The debates started with identifying the role that heritage plays in people's lives and continued to cover the prospect of achieving an authentic reconstruction. Whether the damages should be recovered or considered an opportunity for new architectural styles and methods to be introduced is still debatable, but it is noteworthy that there is not an 'appropriate method' which could be applicable to all situations. The most suitable approach always depends on the location, the scale of damage and the significance associated with the property. The following section discusses the different rebuilding approaches following the implementation of their principles in four different case studies.

4 Section Four: A more practical approach – case study research

After WWII, the views on the post-conflict rebuilding of damaged cities ranged between two main statements: 'what a catastrophe' and 'what an opportunity.' City planners, architects and politicians had various visions on the way their cities should be rebuilt or restored. Considering destruction in a form of opportunity has many horrendous impacts on the cities' cultural and historic identity, since it goes beyond the actual damage caused by the conflict, into implementing radical approaches that would result in causing more harm to the urban structures. While it is easier and quicker to remove all traces and ruins caused by the city's actual destruction, many argued against this drastic approach and called for the protection of heritage property and archaeological layers embodied underneath the remnants.

In this section, I deal with various approaches to heritage rebuilding exemplified in four primary examples. What they have in common is the widespread sheer of damage which left many of their urban structures in ruins, but they still differ in terms of location, type of conflict and scale of destruction. The heritage typologies extend from an entire historic quarter to a single significant landmark. The debates in these cases reflect on the essence of heritage recovery and its impact on the wounded society; the political atmosphere and dominance of particular ideologies; as well as, the international involvement and its somehow radical version of the word of 'healing.'

While conducting the research, I became fully aware that there is always a different version of the story somewhere, according to either intellectuals' or the general public's opinions, I concluded that there is simply no right or wrong. I tried to objectively summarize the facts but have to state that the case study research embraces my personal version of the story, which may or might not be in line with other points of view.

The cities I chose as case studies for my research are Dresden in Germany; Beirut in Lebanon; Mostar in Bosnia and Herzegovina; and, Freiburg in Germany. The four cities were exposed to extensive damage due to different aspects of the conflicts, which affected their urban structures, historical physical fabric and heritage property. A brief introduction to each conflict is displayed, as well as the scale of damages and one example of rebuilding is thoroughly examined. However,

the focus of each case study differs in its context, while the Dresden example tackles the concept of the post-conflict narrating and propaganda; Mostar focuses on the involvement of the international community; Beirut emphasizes on the exclusion of the local community and the political manipulation inclusion; finally, Freiburg forms a positive example of an overall recovery project of both the fabric and the identity.

Building on this, it must be noted that my work does not discuss the urban development of the chosen cities, nor does it follow a conclusive order in examining their rebuilding approaches. Each of the four cities had its unique physical structures before the war; the level and type of damage during the war vary distinctively; therefore, the rebuilding plans and their methodology cannot be compared. This section does not aim to document the rebuilding processes, but rather contributes to a comprehensive understanding of one chosen aspect of each project. In order to develop rebuilding strategies which could be adopted for the post-conflict scenario of the old city of Aleppo, I will analytically discuss which aspects to implement and which to avoid in a brief manner.

4.1 Dresden, re-build to re-narrate the past — politicizing the ruins of the Frauenkirche

The end of WWII left many German cities with a drastic level of damage, both physically and psychologically. The tragic losses of the war had to be recovered through rebuilding the German landscape as well as restoring the German national identity. The rebuilding of the German cities was driven by two main approaches, one that focused the effort on retaining the historic fabric and affirming Germany's integrity, and the other, which opted to build anew in order to announce the beginning of a new era and a new identity for the German nation.

The first case study highlights the selectivity and controversy of the rebuilding process in East Germany, focusing on the city of Dresden. The decision to neglect the ruins of the city's most iconic monument: the Frauenkirche for four decades, then the determination to replicate it after reunification portrays the connection between the political atmosphere, nationalism and the rebuilding process. The discussion related to the rebuilding of the Frauenkirche demonstrates the counter-arguments on the way war-damaged monuments should be treated between rebuilding and sustaining war memorials. The case study research aims to allocate answers for the rapidly

Figure 4.1.1 *The old city of Dresden in 1910* (Wikipedia n.d.)

multiplying questions such as: How and why was the Frauenkirche rebuilt? Who had been involved in its rebuilding process? What is the connection between the church's ruins and the ruling government of the GDR? Why were the allied forces that were responsible for destroying the church, involved in its reconstruction?

4.1.1 Destruction of Dresden during World War II

'Florence of the North' was Dresden's most recognized title, the city's cultural reputation dates back to the 16th century when the Wettin dynasty ruled Saxony and chose Dresden "as its royal seat." Joel notes that: "In the early eighteenth century, under Elector Augustus II (the Strong) and his son and successor Augustus III, the picturesque capital sprawling along both sides of the River Elbe first gained real repute as a leading centre of architectural splendour and high culture" (Joel 2012, p.198). The city's architecture was indeed striking and shaped in new baroque styles with the Italian Renaissance cities as their main inspiration. Dresden was famous for its significant cultural and architectural characteristics, and was left 'relatively' unharmed[5] for quite some time, which led its residents to believe that their city was safe and will not undergo any serious damage:

[5] Dresden (the city and its surrounding) were targeted with "light raids" carried out by the Americans on two occasions "October 1944 and again in January 1945" (Biddle 2008, p.242).

"there was a mistaken belief[6] that the city's beauty had been recognized by the allies and it would be spared attack" (Clayton 1997, p.6). Quite the contrary to that assumption is what took place on the night of 13 to 15 February 1945: the city and its surrounding were raided by the American/British allied forces with thousand tons of explosives and inflammable bombs, which created a massive blaze consuming thousands of historic buildings "more than fifteen square km of the city centre area were decimated" (Wagner 2000; Wolfel 2012, p.98).

The firestorm devastated the city's foremost landmarks, and caused harm to its pre-war identity, as approximately 13 square miles of the old quarters (where the baroque buildings existed) were seriously damaged (Joel 2012, pp.200-1). The Dresden historian Friedrich Reichert commented on the devastating raids as follows: "war always claims many lives. The air war caused thousands of human tragedies and irretrievably obliterated urban structure, which had grown through the centuries" (Quoted in Jaeger and Brebbia 2000, p.8).

While the attack on Dresden is often referred to when discussing the concept of 'strategic bombing' within WWII, it could be argued that the historical event of the Anglo-American raids on Dresden is highly misunderstood. Even though attacking Dresden was another episode of the war, it is often portrayed as a "wholly atypical episode", and while many German cities, for example –Cologne and Hamburg– endured a worse fate, Dresden's raid became one of the most high-profile events which overshadowed "more destructive raids of the Second World War" (Biddle 2008, pp.414-5). According to Professor of history Tami Davis Biddle (2008, p.414):

> Dresden ranked only 10th in the percentage of incendiary bombs carried to the target relative to high explosive bombs. In terms of lives lost and damage done, the Dresden raid was less destructive than the firestorm imposed by Bomber Command on the city of Hamburg in late July 1943, or the American air attack on Tokyo of March 9-10, 1945, which would kill over 100,000 in a single night.

The raid causality figures were estimated to range between 25,000 — 30,000 (Ten Dyke 2001, p.23) and about 40% of Dresden's buildings became 'unusable' (Reichert 2000, pp.8-9). The controversy of these causalities and their military necessity were debated years after the war, and

[6] This belief ignored that "much of Dresden's consumer-related industry had been converted to war-related industry." for instance "Dresden's biggest manufacturer, the lens and camera maker Zeiss-Ikon, made instruments vital to the war effort, including Luftwaffe bombsights. Seidel and Naumann, which had manufactured typewriters and sewing machines, switched in wartime to the manufacture of armament" (Biddle 2008, p.242). While the industrial activities were not the main reasons for attacking the city, it could be argued that they added to the city's significance as a target.

Figure 4.1.2 *Dresden after 1945: a photo taken from the town-hall* (Walter Hahn 1945)

many have considered the attack on Dresden and its heritage an 'unjustifiable crime of war' (Taylor 2005, preface). In his book *The Dresden Firebombing: Memory and the Politics of Commemorating Destruction* (2013), lecturer of modern history Tony Joel arguably identified several aspects concerning Dresden and its destruction, he discussed that the motives behind bombing the city are still unclear (2013, p.60), but resulted in destroying Dresden's image as an 'European Kulturstadt' (2013, p.66). Joel's work echoes the statement that was made by the historian Anthony Verrier on the air raid that "expressed to a stupefying degree the use of an instrument of major war for purposes even more elemental than even those who forged it could gave dreamt. It was selected for no reason which anyone who fought in the strategic air war can justify" (Quoted in Probert 2003, p.316). The attack on Dresden was perceived as a 'surprise' and for many years remained 'unexplained' and blamed on Bomber Harris[7] who directed the raid on the city.

While some of the recent literature on Dresden highlighted that the city might have been targeted because of its strategic location (Biddle 2008, p.425):

[7] Sir Arthur Harris, known as 'Bomber Harris' was a Marshal of the Royal Air Force (RAF) and the "Commander-in-Chief of Bomber Command" for the Anglo-American bombing campaign against Germany during WWII (Probert 2003, p.19).

Figure 4.1.3 *View of Dresden's Neumarkt and the Frauenkirche* (Library of Congress 1949)

> The city of Dresden is located due west of what was then called "Breslau" (Poland), seventy-one miles east-southeast of Leipzig, and 111 miles south of Berlin. The seventh largest city in Germany at the start of World War II, it sat in the middle of important east-west and north-south traffic routes, and was at the junction of three trunk routes of the Reich's railway system.

Other sources indicated that the reason is far more complex, and could be understood from analysing the situation at the end of the war. It was argued that even though the war was coming to an end, Germany still managed to bring new weaponry, and rumours that a German atomic bomb is being produced were circulating. There was no doubt that the allies are going to win, but the atmosphere was not celebratory of this victory, a wave of despair was spreading as the war continued to cause more deaths and damages (Probert 2003, p.317). This atmosphere initiated a discussion "to deliver a catastrophic blow against either Berlin or some other major city hitherto largely undamaged," this discussion advanced when Harries proposed to include "not only Berlin but also Chemnitz, Leipzig and Dresden" as they "all would be housing evacuees from the East and were focal points in German communications behind the Eastern Front" (Probert 2003, p.318). While Harris's suggestion was taken into consideration, it is important to note that it was not him who initiated the orders.

The orders came to Harris to attack Berlin, Chemnitz, Leipzig, Dresden, and "any other cities where a severe blitz will not only cause confusion in the evacuation from the East but will also hamper the movement of troops from the West." The raids will serve a "particular object of exploiting the confused conditions which are likely to exist in the above-mentioned cities during the successful Russian advance" (Probert 2003, p.318). Bufton, the Chairman of the Combined Strategic Targets Committee stated that the attacks were arguably ordered not only because of the cities' "communication value or for any other specific object" but to create more chaos which would make the "German administrative and military problems [...]more difficult" (Probert 2003, p.318). The raid on Dresden did undermine the will of the Germans to keep fighting, as historian Goetz Bergander stated that "the shockwave triggered by Dresden swept away what was left of the will to resist, as the Germans now feared that the catastrophe could be repeated daily" (Quote in Probert 2003, p.321).

The bombing of Dresden was symbolized by the destruction of the famous Baroque church for Protestants: the Frauenkirche which was built between 1727 and 1743 by then the city architect George Baehr. The church, which was centred at the heart of Dresden with its stone dome dominating the city's skyline was considered one of the most outstanding monuments of that era (Paul 1989, p.120). The Frauenkirche, which was consecrated after 17 years of its construction, was financed by the city's middle-class population and Dresden's court and enjoyed a great symbolic value as a building of bourgeois origin (Schubert 2006, p.84).

The structure of the church survived the air bombing but was extremely weakened by the conflagration, which caused it to finally collapse on the 15th of February, leaving portions of a wall standing on a heap of ruins for the next forty years. For the city's residents, the devastation of the church meant losing "one of the most significant symbols and sources of pride for Dresden." Immediately after the destruction, citizens collected and sorted out as many stone pieces as possible, with the hope of restoring their church in the near future (Wolfel 2012, p.100). Many archival records and cultural artifacts were salvaged from the church, as well as architectural elements, which were stored and catalogued to be reused when the decision to rebuild the church was finally seeing the light.

4.1.2 Rebuilding Dresden between 1945 — 1990

In the period after WWII Dresden was incorporated into the Soviet-controlled parts, and then in 1949, it fell within the new socialist government as part of the newly established governmental body in Eastern Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

The socialist ideology dominated the rebuilding of Dresden in the years following the war; to support its communist dogma, Dresden had to be rebuilt in accordance with the ideal socialist city image: centralistic system of urban settlements; efficiency of an enormous network of highways and standardization of housing typologies (identical cement blocks, which are known as 'Plattenbauten' or 'slab-buildings'). In that sense, Dresden was denied its pre-war baroque identity and was to be transformed into a modern city, which does not reflect any aspect of its glorious history. The architectural and spatial transformation of Dresden wasn't celebrated vastly, as many intellectuals including the American writer Kurt Vonnegut thought it would lead to "German Florence looking like Dayton, Ohio" (Quoted in Wolfel 2012, p.98).

There has been a mutual understanding among the socialist planners to demolish the surviving buildings instead of restoring them into their original design or even attempting to preserving any of their remaining fragments. It is important to note that many buildings had their external walls in place and were only burnt as a result of the firestorm, which suggests that it was feasible to rebuild the pre-war structure of Dresden if only the communist planners and those in charge of the reconstruction process intended to (Paul 1989, p.118-9). The post-war lack of finance; the massive urge for an overall rapid reconstruction plan and, as mentioned before, the political/ideological reasons; all together formed motives not to rebuild the Florence of the North to its former radiance (Joel 2012, pp.206-7).

While most of the bombed zones in Dresden were indeed cleared of rubbles, vast parts within the city were left vacant and unused for as long as four decades. While some ancient monuments were restored following public demands, such as the Zwinger Palace and the Semper Opera House, the Frauenkirche was left in ruins (Jarzombek 2004).

The debate over the remnants of the Frauenkirche began right after the end of WWII and tumbled between clearing the rubbles and keeping them in situ, which could provide an opportunity for rebuilding later. The concept of 'archaeological reconstruction' was first introduced in the plans by the Protestant regional church and in contrast to the concept of 'new building,' the method was to

Figure 4.1.4 *Monumental sculpture of Martin Luther in front of the ruins of the Frauenkirche* (Giso Löwe 1958)

'save as many old stones as possible' to be included in reproducing authentic rebuilding. The work has begun with clearing the rubbles, and was intended to be completed by 1950 but wasn't realized due to the lack of funding, it was until 1957 that the rebuilding of the Frauenkirche became part of the official state reconstruction program for the inner city of Dresden (Pannewitz 2006, p.8)

4.1.3 Reconstructing the Frauenkirche after 1990

With the fall of the Berlin wall, which marked the activation of Germany's reunification in 1990, a national program (Städtebauförderung - Städtebaulicher Denkmalschutz[8]) which was established to reconstruct the affected German cities and their historic assets physically, as well as to retrieve the country's cultural and social identity (Moshenska 2015, p.83; Jordan 2006). The rebuilding of specific historic monuments and urban settlements began in many areas across Germany, and the debate over the future of the Frauenkirche ruins was one of the most significant within the reconstruction initiatives. The discussion was initiated by a public campaign 'Ruf aus Dresden' [Call of Dresden], which urged to reconstruct the church to its pre-war historic structure that would preserve its authenticity and reverse the psychological effects caused by its destruction. This campaign shared the call of then Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl 'Wunden heilen, statt

[8] A special funding program that was developed and introduced in 1991, with the aim to preserve and revitalize historic city centers and districts of the former GDR in their entirety.

Wunden offen halten' [Healing the wounds instead of keeping them open] to initiate fundraising campaigns to carry out the rebuilding of the church (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015, p.120).

This public initiative was organized as a citizen movement that gained both national and international recognition because it often reached out to the civil society and included the common people in creating its vision on the reconstruction of the church. In 1991, the Evangelical Church articulated its support of the movement, so as the communal government in 1992, the two contributed into financing and managing the movement's aims (Stiftung Frauenkirche Dresden 2016a).

The broad public dispute on the way the ruins of the Frauenkirche should be handled to reach a suitable approach for its structure, could be summarized, according to historian Juergen Paul, in three major points: a) respecting the ruins of the church and leaving them as a peace memorial against all wars and their destruction; b) carefully selecting and integrating the compatible ruins into a new building; c) complete rebuilding of the church's external structure by creating an exact replica of the former one with the use of new modern elements. It should be noted that these approaches are incompatible with the one proposed by the Citizen Movement, which aimed to reconstructing the historical facades as well as the church's interior using old structures and elements, and went entirely against leaving the remnants as a memorial (Paul 1989, p.121).

There has been widespread criticism of the total rebuilding of the church, those who supported leaving the Frauenkirche in its ruined state argued that the reconstruction project is too pricy and that the funds are better spent on revitalizing the infrastructure and supporting the housing projects in the city. The other argument was made regarding the remnants of the Frauenkirche and their symbolic value as a memorial against war and an authentic record of the past, which arguably exceeded the historic value of the original church (Paul 1989, pp.121-2). It must be noted that those who stood against rebuilding the church failed to organize themselves in a larger movement or to disseminate their arguments internationally.

The influential Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz (the German Foundation for Monument Protection), which was established in 1985 and called for the preservation of cultural heritage in Germany, took a standing point against any reconstruction plans for historic monuments affected or damaged by war and released a statement clarifying that (Quoted in Joel 2012, p.211):

Figure 4.1.5 *The Frauenkirche before 1945* (Library of Congress 1930)

Figure 4.1.6 *The reconstruction development of the Frauenkirche* (Thomas Kantschew 2003)

> The erection of reproductions of lost monuments can only be of importance for the work in the present day. Such copies cannot be monuments recalling great achievements of the past in their full sense and keeping alive the memory of historic processes with their heights and depths. Conservationists are responsible only for historical evidence, which cannot be reproduced and must warn when there is a threat to the possibility for remembrance in the public arena.

However, the overwhelming local and international support to restore the Frauenkirche led the communal government to announce the outset of the reconstruction project of both the church and its surrounding historic quarter the Neumarkt.

4.1.4 Guidelines for reconstruction and costs

The reconstruction project aimed to re-establish the church's original structure: both the exterior and the interior should be restored to their 1753 condition. In that sense, the original stones that survived the bombing should be analysed, categorized and reused if possible so that the reconstructed church is organically restored from the old one. Three major rules guided the rebuilding of the church under the slogan 'archaeological reconstruction' according to the Stiftung Frauenkirche Dresden (2016a): a) George Baehr's Frauenkirche should be rebuilt using its original structural substance to the largest extent possible in accordance with the original construction plans;

b) this should be done with the aid of modern technology, as well as the theories and methods of structural engineering and physics valid today, while; c) giving due consideration to all the requirements resulting from a vibrant usage of the building in the 21st century.

The major obstacle that faced the rebuilding of the church was the lack of funding, which lead to upscaling the importance of the reconstruction project from a national into an international scope: Dresden became a symbol of a war-damaged city with its wounds still open. The publicity campaign portrayed the rebuilding of the church as a way of healing from the aching wounds, and ultimately won the support of many local donors as well those sources in the United States and Britain (Paul 1989, p.121; Taylor 2005).

Several initiatives supported the project from abroad, most notable was the 'Dresden Trust' in Britain, which was able to allocate enough funding to recreate the dome of the church as well as the unique baroque orb and cross. According to the founder of the Trust, Alan Russell (1999, p.1) the rebuilding of Dresden: "[has] a deep underlying symbolism. Dresden represents some of the best as well some of the most terrible elements in British-German history." The reconstruction project is estimated to have cost around €182.6 Million, which was financed by the German public funds with 38%, "private sources (donations, gifts, contributions, testaments)" with 56%, and "operative results" with 5% (Stiftung Frauenkirche Dresden 2016b).

4.1.5 Rebuilding what was there or recreating anew?

In theory, the destruction of the church was to be made visible as the conservationists involved in the reconstruction project arguably made sure to show the damage done to the Frauenkirche, by utilizing salvaged original elements like the burnt dark stones, which were displayed in contrast with the new elements. It was suggested that the replica of the original Frauenkirche was produced after applying the documented historic measurements, while the argument of utilizing the existing old stones might seem valid, the question of the accuracy of location of each stone is debatable. Many stones were reused according to certain estimation and by identifying their original records; but even after calculating the direction and the course, in which the church has collapsed, the measurements adopted for the rebuilding cannot be definite or conclusive. So is the approach to incorporate old stones in their original locations, to cover up to forty percent of the rebuilt church. "As a result, what started as an honest attempt to make a building with 'embedded memory' became an aesthetic governed by the positivistic conceits of the restorers" (Jarzombek 2004, p.56).

There have been many inquiries concerning the authenticity and the values of the recreated or restored artifacts that have already existed, with special reference to the reconstruction of the Frauenkirche. True that any reconstruction with the aim of replication should tackle aspects like the materials; the building methods and even the ever-changing surrounding environmental conditions: the reproduced item still cannot be as significant as the original. According to author Robert Elliot, if two things have a different historical launch in records, these two cannot be identical. In other words, even if the restored Frauenkirche is an excellent replication of the original one, it cannot be as valuable as it has a different historical providence (Heyd 2016, pp.152-3).

Art historian Richard Shiff brings another argument regarding the idea of 'original copy,' which he defines as a "hybrid of past and present, lying somewhere in between." In his opinion, it is easy to produce replicas of the historic building, but these copies cannot be authentic: each building comprises layers of history and artwork, which a new copy cannot encapsulate (Kaplan 2011, p.55).

New technologies were utilized to insert additional adaptations into the restored church, with a claim to avoid a 'design mistake' done by George Baehr. There has been much debate concerning the original stone dome and if its copy should be constructed with reinforced concrete instead, the argument wasn't concluded until later stages of rebuilding when the decision was made to construct an exact copy of the church, even when discussing material-wise aspects. However, alternations were conducted regardless of the past decision: post-tensioned steel tiles were added to the dome replacing the original iron anchors; part of the stones were placed in a slanting position to allow an equal distribution of loads to the exterior structure; reinforced concrete anchors compacted around a steel ring were combined to the base of the cupola. It is important to note that the Frauenkirche is no longer used for religious purposes (except the lower church), but basically as a concert hall. That is why it has been acoustically and technically equipped with around 7.7 km of pipes, and 85 km of electrical cables which were integrated as part of the internal façade (Stoll 2002, pp.46-52).

The controversy of many modifications needs to be discussed concerning the question of authenticity and integrity of the church. For instance, the original stones, which were incorporated in the new building were reinforced with steel to improve their quality and new elements were added especially to the interior such as an elevator; the dimensions of the internal stairs were modified and did not correspond with the old ones; the 'restoration' of the alter could be better described as 'creating' a new alter that does not reflect any originality in its structure or colours. Confirming to the technical alternations conducted in the new building, one could conclude that

the produced church cannot be an accurate copy of the original, this conclusion; however, cannot be traced in any of the reports, which document the work progress or the final production of the Frauenkirche (Bartetzky 2003, pp.278-84).

With the rebuilding of the Frauenkirche, the concept of "archaeological reconstruction" gained great significance. Still, the actual construction process raised questions regarding the fulfilment of the set guidelines, as for example the number of original stones used within the reconstruction process. The amount of these significant black-coloured stones was evidently and clearly less than it was planned (45%), and the real number was even less and could only be increased through black-painting of non-original stones, which would later be used within the reconstruction process. It was argued that without the black-coloured original stones the Frauenkirche would have looked uniformly new, and this might have been the reason for falsifying the colours to give an impression of originality (Rheidt and Schmidt 2016, p.15). This statement is critical because it casts shadows of doubt if the reproduced building should be treated as an 'authentic' rather than a 'fake copy.'

In researching the literature and reports produced to tackle the reconstruction of the church, and following on the former statement, it is noted that there is a lack of information and documentation of any criticism against the way the rebuilding of the church was carried out. Most of the available sources praise the rebuilding and its accuracy, while many intertwined questions of authenticity were deliberately left out of the discussion, especially by those involved in the restoration project.

The consecration of the church and its reopening in 2005 received great media coverage, which portrayed this national event as the 'event of the century.' This mass media coverage was criticized for shaping a certain collective public memory of the symbolism of the Frauenkirche. In her analysis report on the printed media: 'Die Symbolik der Dresdner Frauenkirche im öffentlichen Gedächtnis. Eine Analyse von Pressetexten zum Zeitpunkt der Weihe 2005' [The symbolism of the Dresden Frauenkirche in public memory. An analysis of press texts at the time of the consecration 2005] Anja Pannewitz states that through the rebuilding of the Frauenkirche, sentimental nationalism was used to spread propaganda supporting the victimization of the Germans rather than questioning their role as aggressors. The way the restored Frauenkirche was vastly celebrated as a symbol of reconciliation, freedom and unity stripped away any guilt of the crimes committed by the Germans: it was as if history is being rewritten and is depicting that the Germans suffered the most (Pannewitz 2006, passim).

There has been no reference to National Socialism, and the focus was shifted to the church's present, future and even religious value. Nazi Germany was mentioned to some extent but always with reference to the brutality of the allies, which is by far worse and more vicious than what the Germans have committed. In discussing the pros and cons of rebuilding, which ranged between not wanting to forget the past and coming in terms with the present or future, the idealistic political discourse forced omitting certain elements of memory, by acting like nothing has happened (Pannewitz 2006; Klein 2013).

4.1.6 Conclusion

The reconstruction of the Frauenkirche was indeed motivated by the residents' desire to achieve reconciliation and to reclaim Dresden's former glory, as well as to retain the city's panoramic view as seen from across the river Elbe. However, this claim does not justify the 'replication' of the old church in term of authenticity and reproducing an 'exact copy.'

The debates over keeping the ruins of the Frauenkirche as a memorial of war, which lasted for decades, were concluded with the decision to rebuild the church 'as it was, where it was'; this decision to polarize all the historical and cultural aspects surrounding its destruction was politically charged, and did not convey all the emotions manifolded within. Notably, in comparison to other German cities, Dresden did not undergo the utmost sum of destruction, nor the highest numbers of war-causalities. It did, however, win the highest attention that turned its former identity from "Florence of the north" to a "symbol of war," which implied the victimization of its 'innocent' residents. Right after its destruction, the ruins of the Frauenkirche became the stage, which physically displayed the German victimhood and the wounds sustained by the German nation during WWII. Therefore, reconstructing the building would absolve this victim myth and would make all the questions related to the war, bombing and even national socialism irrelevant.

It is widely understood that the GDR leaders were not interested in restoring any religious buildings, regardless of their architectural significance: reconstructing churches would go against their adopted atheism ideology. Some wall fragments and a pile of burnt stones were the remains of the Frauenkirche, which shortly after its destruction fell into neglect. In the GDR time, the ruins of the church became a symbol of the Second World War and, thus, an ideological instrument in the Cold War period: the politicians used the destruction of the Frauenkirche as a propaganda tool to portray the Western allies' brutality, which pose a harmful imperialistic threat, and to emphasize

the hardship endured by the German working-class in everyday life (Vees-Gulani 2005; Moshenska 2015).Whether the remains of the Frauenkirche were exploited to support the narrative that the Germans are 'merely a victim of that war,' rather than actively taking part or profiting from it, stays a highly debatable matter.

Another aspect of the decision to recreate the Frauenkirche could be summarized in the necessity to generate sufficient funds for the project. Memorializing the ruins would have lacked the support and the funds that were generated in order to reproduce the original building. That is why the importance of the Frauenkirche was pushed into a national and international significance, and was given all the publicity and the attention needed by both the Germans and even the allies involved in its destruction.

The 'archaeological reconstruction' project made it possible to imitate the old Frauenkirche as if nothing has ever happened. Looking at the church today, there is only a small trace of original stones in its exterior walls, which emerged with the new stones and are hard to distinguish due to colour-changing caused by weathering, it is most likely that this historic reference will soon disappear.

4.2 Mostar, rebuilding for mediating conflicts on the side-lines — replicating the Stari Most

The deliberate destruction of cultural property during a series of violent conflicts within the states of former Yugoslavia, received the highest attention after the bombing of the Stari Most Bridge of the city of Mostar in 1992. It was clear that targeting the bridge which resulted in great damage, then complete destruction in 1993 was part of the cultural cleansing agenda adopted throughout the war. The bridge had a high symbolic value for the inhabitants of the city; the entire conservation community and its professionals; and the human civilization as a whole. Its importance was not limited to its functional value as a bridge connecting the city but was considered an illustration of the multi-ethnic shared living; one of the unique bridges in Europe; as well as a major visual reflection of the Balkan region's history.

For hundreds of years, the bridge was the key element for identification regardless of the ethnic/religious group that people belonged to and; therefore, its reconstruction was inevitable to

Figure 4.2.1 *The Stari Most Bridge as it looked before 1993* (Lawrence Hannah 2001)

achieve reconciliation. The reconstruction of the bridge was made possible by the contribution of the international agencies which deployed both funds and professionals, but the questions to be asked: Did the new bridge deliver closure for the wounded society? Did it accomplish one of its aims in portraying the shared memories and emotions associated with the old bridge? How was the rebuilding process carried out?

Mostar indeed recovered its cultural heritage property through reconstruction, one has to note that the city did not retrieve any of its institutions and or/infrastructure facilities which led to many complains made by the city's inhabitants. The case study explores the impacts of the reconstruction project and the aftermath resulting from neglecting the residents' more essential needs for economic, social and technical infrastructure. This case study is major when addressing the limitations of the international community's involvement in the post-conflict situation, as well as how favoring particular buildings and narratives would eventually lead to discarding the whole rebuilding project

Figure 4.2.2 *Old picture of the Bridge* (Library of Congress 1900)

4.2.1 Mostar and the Stari Most Bridge

The region known today as Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) was historically recognized for having one of the most ethnically diverse communities where Catholic and Orthodox Christians, and Muslim populations lived in peace. The country has a rich cultural, economic and political history: it was first settled by the Slavic population between the 6th until the 9th centuries, and developed to what was known as the kingdom of Bosnia between 1377 and 1463. It then hosted the Islamic expansion with the Ottoman Empire which lasted until 1878, when it annexed into the Astro-Hungarian Empire until WWI and became part of former Yugoslavia to gain independence in late 1995 (Alastair 2004).

Situated in southwestern Sarajevo with more than 126.000 inhabitants, Mostar was considered the second largest city in BiH and was known for its multicultural community and its intermingled population from multiple ethnic origins. The city has flourished as part of the Ottoman Empire and became a regional centre in the mid 15th century, later at the end of the 19th century it was governed by the Austro-Hungarians and developed to be an industrial centre which lasted until the end of WWI when it became an unofficial capital of Herzegovina in former Yugoslavia (UNESCO 2005b).

The development of Mostar was remarkable under the Ottoman ruling as the growth tackled many aspects of the city's social, economic and urban transformations. Therewith, the construction of the bridge as a physical representation was much needed to echo the multicultural connection between the two sides of the city as one point, and between the surrounding landscape and man-made components as another. Mostar was one of the most significant cosmopolitan cities in former Yugoslavia: The historic oriental-Mediterranean quarters surrounding the bridge were perfectly integrated with the monument, it was a true testimony of monumental Islamic architecture merged with pre-ottoman and West European aesthetic trends (Grabrijan and Neidhardt 1957, pp.466-8). Mostar, or the 'bridge keeper' in reference to its most famous wooden bridge located in the heart of the city which was rebuilt with orders by the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman in 1566, with its new structure of stone; the bridge was an exceptional Ottoman masterpiece (Riedlmayer 1995).

The bridge was considered an icon of attachment between the Bosnian Muslims in the east bank of the Neretva river and the Croats Catholics on the west one: "the image and the meaning of the Old Bridge embodied the meaning and spirit of all Bosnia. The essence of the bridge is meeting and linking, the opposite of separation and division" (Quoted in Krishnamurthy 2012, p.86).

2.2 Division and destruction of Mostar

The states of former Yugoslavia endured a series of conflicts of ethnic nature, independence and civil wars since the early 1990s. Most of these conflicts were indeed terminated with signing peace agreements and declaring independent states, but this did not end the hostilities or resolve the tension between the varied ethnic nations. Genocide acts were committed against people and their culture, the warring nations deliberately targeted the opponents' architecture, history, and identity by destroying their cultural heritage property. This war tactic was particularly utilized by the Serbian invaders and resulted in total destruction and brutal wreckage of what was estimated at 3.226 national historic buildings (Bevan 2006, p.42).

BiH declared independence from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1992, which marked the beginning of a war fought between the Orthodox Serbs against both Catholic Croats and Muslims. The Serbs started their offense in the capital Sarajevo and claimed to "cleanse the territory of all ethnically unsuitable residents" (Bublin 1999, p.139). One of the most violent hostilities during the war occurred in the city of Mostar, which arguably never recovered the division that was created as a result of the warfare.

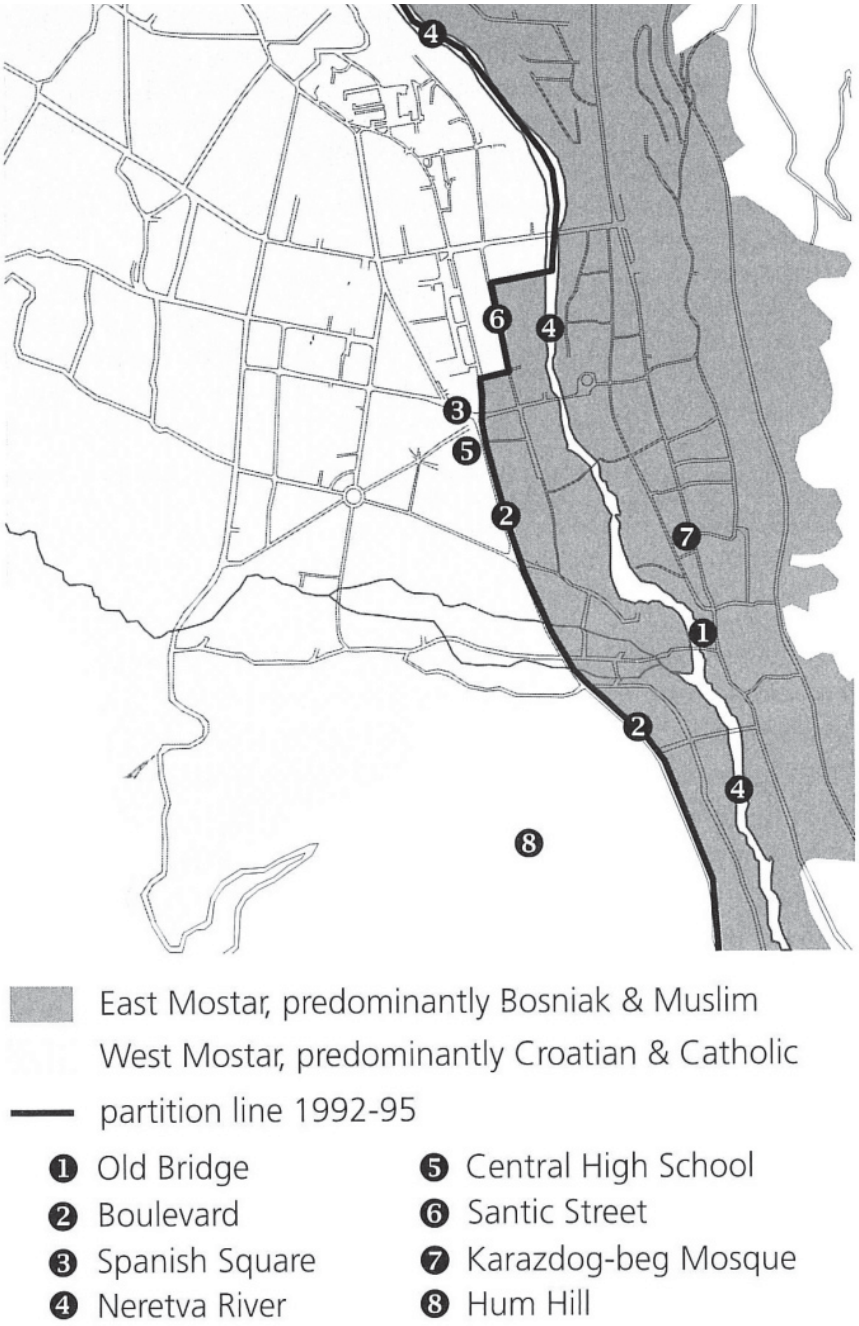

Figure 4.2.3 *Map shows the ethnic division between the eastern and the western sides of Mostar, as well as the location of the famous Stari Most Bridge* (Calame and Pasic 2009, p.7)

The major aggressions were carried out by the Serbian units which were faced by a united Croat-Bosniak counter-offensive, unfortunately soon after the defeat of the Serbian aggressors, the former allies initiated a war which lasted for a whole year. The division seen now in the city dates back to the notorious battles when Mostar was considered the capital of a self-proclaimed Croatian entity with its western side governed by the Croatian Council of Defence and the eastern side under the control of the official army of the Republic of BiH (Raos 2010, p.8).

The war which took place between 1992-5 resulted in putting the eastern side of Mostar under siege for about eighteen months during which people did not have access to the basic life necessities of medical supplies, food or water. It was suggested that during the blockade and the inter-ethnic hostilities which lasted between 1992 and 1995, the city lost more than 75% of its urban facilities and infrastructure, and that the old quarters were often targeted with the aim of destruction where many historic monuments were reduced into rubbles (Krishnamurthy 2012, p.84).

The death toll was rising to 5000, and an estimated number of 40.000 of the Mostar's inhabitants were forcibly removed from their residents and placed out of the city; while 30.000 people refused to leave Mostar and 10.000 others were unfairly imprisoned, in what was considered back then a scene of ethnic cleansing and demographic change (Calame 2005, p.32).

The frontline cutting through the city along the Austro-Hungarian Boulevard was developed during the conflict for defense reasons by the Muslim Bosniaks protecting the eastern side against the attacks of the nationalist Croatians on the western part (Calame and Pasic 2009, p.6). The division between the two reached its peak in no time as an outcome of the long-lasting struggle over power and the prejudice of the righteous national feeling. The line of division was a physical as well as an ethnic barrier which fragmented the city's spaces, monuments and reshaped the interrelation between the Bosniak Muslims and Croatian Catholics (Calame and Pasic 2009, p.14).

4.2.3 Identity of Stari Most Bridge and its destruction

Mostar's historic structure revolved and evolved around the bridge since its construction. The Stari Most was considered the most prominent symbol of the city with its ability to reflect both the tangible traditional architectural styles and the intangible peaceful shared living of multi-ethnic groups; it connected the residents of Mostar and shaped the city's urban biography for years (Krishnamurthy 2012, p.84).

The daily interaction between the old bridge and Mostar's residents created a unique collective notion of the site: it was not like any other monument and its significance was not reduced to its physicality but was seen as an "actual being living and walking in the city." The Stari Most became a site of mutual identity: many individual and common memories were produced and assessed there, as well as shared emotions and spirits (Krishnamurthy 2012, p.88).

Figure 4.2.4 *The total destruction of the Stari Most* (Pascal Hassenforder 2000)

The bridge was targeted for the first time in April 1992 by the Bosnian Serb military but its damage was minimal, it was until the Bosnian Croat tanks shelled the historic stoned bridge till it collapsed on the 9th of November 1993 and fell into pieces in the Neretva river. The Stari Most was bombed intentionally by the Bosnian Croats for its symbolic value which contradicted the claim that BiH is an exclusive land for the nationalist Croats where their Croatian state should be established with Mostar as its capital (Walasek 2015, p.314; Broschе́, et al. 2017, p.252).

Another reason to target the bridge was its usage as a passage to supply the Army of BiH with arms, and the civilians from both sides of the city with food and medicine (Forde 2016, p.472). The Croats did not attempt to hide their crime against the bridge, on the contrary the commander who was responsible for giving the order to bomb the bridge bragged saying that: "It is not enough to cleanse Mostar of the Muslims; the relics must also be destroyed" (Quoted in Riedlmayer 1995).

The footage of the bridge emerged days after its destruction and bombarded the whole world announcing the end of what was formally known as peaceful shared living among the groups from different religions. On the destruction of the bridge, a resident of Mostar stated (Balic 2003):

> I could not talk. I cried for days whenever I was left alone. I could not believe that I would live longer than the old bridge. It was our bridge [...] we spoke of it as our friend, the oldest Mostarian

whom we all respected and were proud of. Many people were killed during the war, but it was when the bridge was destroyed that Mostarians spontaneously declared a day of mourning.

The mourning and the pain over of the fallen bridge somehow united the conflicting nations (Bublin 1999, p.187): "because with the death of the Old Bridge their hearts are ripped out. For them, it has the same significance as Notre Dame for Parisians [...] the Old Bridge was their common identification, regardless of the religion of the nation they belong to."

The war events shifted drastically after the destruction of the bridge, the symbolism accompanying its destruction was not limited to the heritage destruction but portrayed a bitter present of ethnic division within (BiH) which left its former multi-cultural-ethnic society to segregation. The destruction of the bridge deepened the frontline between the Croats and Bosniaks, Riedlmayer claims: "Croatian troops were destroying the bridge to delete the historical record and the collective memory of Bosnians, to whom the bridge was an important symbol. At the same time the common past of the multicultural community before the war would have been denied" (Coward 2008, p.6).

4.2.4 Post-war BiH

The war between the Croats and Bosniaks was put to an end with the Washington Agreement, which was signed by the conflicting parties to a ceasefire in March 1994. The agreement gave an initial consent to introduce a phase of reunification, reconstruction and peace. It was; however, until the Dayton Accord or the General Framework Agreement for Peace in BiH, which was formally signed by the presidents of BiH, Serbia and Croatia with the supervision of the United States of America in December 1995, that the Bosnian war was finally concluded (Forde 2016, p.473).

The Bosnian war indeed ended in 1995, but one has to note that the development and post-conflict revitalization projects faced and still facing enormous problems, one of those issues was the inaccuracy of damage assessments reports in regard of cultural heritage and the absence of any approach to integrating those damaged heritage assets into the post-war reconstruction plans.

On-site inspections were conducted in November 1995 by the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage of BiH, to document the damages and destruction of cultural property within the country. The reports revealed that (Hadțimuhamedović 2009, p.5): "2771 built heritage properties had been destroyed or damaged, of which 713 were completely

razed to the ground, and 554 had been set on fire and were unusable." Even though the numbers might not be conclusive, they still expose how the destruction of cultural heritage was used as a tool to erase the collective memory and identity of the counter-nation, these numbers demonstrate the significance of heritage reconstruction to the whole recovery process.

It was until 1997 that the Council of Europe engaged in inspecting the state of heritage in BiH: a group of experts was sent on the ground and a methodological frame for damage assessment was created, but unfortunately the mission was concluded in 1998 because large areas were inaccessible as a result of the rising political opposition (Hadțimuhamedović 2009, p.5).

Postwar Mostar

Mostar, which was split between the two ethnic groups had its independent municipal administrations in both sides which were one of the obstacles when addressing development and unification in the first decade of the post-conflict phase (Yarwood 2010, pp.11-2). Humanitarian aid, foreign donations and expertise were made available to the city's residents, but notions of unification and balance remained irrelevant in the Bosnian context for years after the war, both authorities on both sides of Mostar declined any efforts to communicate in order to reach a common agreement which would lead to reunifying the divided city (Calame 2005, p.33).

Mostar's pre-war symbolic value played an undeniable role in mobilizing both domestic and international efforts in one agenda to reconstruct the damaged historic centre and the significant Stari Most bridge. The city had to be reconstructed both physically and socio-economically, as the absence of the bridge meant breaking the historic ties between the multi-ethnic, multi-religious community, which is damaging to the city's multicultural identity. Even though it has been emphasized from early stages that political stability and reconciliation should be achieved before development plans could be implemented, the reconstruction of Mostar's heritage (the urban centre around the bridge) was favoured and considered -by the international community- as an essential relief to reconnect the ethnically-divided community (Calame 2005, pp.34-5).

This reflection; however, did not consider that unbalanced development and the involvement of foreign donors and professionals, without reaching unification first, would lead to deepening the segregation within the community that strived for food, water, medical care and facilities. Not achieving unification at that point meant that the interim administration in each part of the city became more ethnicity-depended, the limited resources available could not be used because the

unsolved tension between the politicians and the discrimination were increasing, and many reconstruction activities were conducted without regulations and/or legitimization (Forde 2016, pp.474-5).

4.2.5 Reconstruction of the bridge

Post-war physical reconstruction necessities were not equal in both sides of the city, the eastern side of Mostar was far more damaged and destroyed in comparison with the western side. Having their self-governing municipalities and authorities, the divided sides continued to work on their own, but the lack of funding and human resources revealed the urgency for external financing agencies which of course came applying their terms and conditions for allocating revitalization activities and sharing responsibilities, equally between the inter-ethnic municipal governments (Calame and Pasic 2009, p.10).

As soon as the outcry for help reached the international agencies, funds were raised and exceeded 100M dollars. The involved international bodies included: UNESCO; The World Bank; Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs; The Aga Khan Trust for Culture; The World Monuments Fund and the European Union, those non-governmental and governmental groups vowed to reconstruct the city of Mostar to its earlier glory (Calame and Pasic 2009, p.11). The revitalization and reconstruction projects of the historic neighbourhoods around the bridge were set to motion and carried out by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture and the World Monuments Fund:

> Straddling both sides of the Neretva River at the strategic crossing point of the Old Bridge, these neighbourhoods are in fact an integral part of the Stari Most. They constitute both its physical, visual and functional context [...] these old neighbourhoods reflect the character of the city formed during the Ottoman period, and remain an inextricable part of Mostar's historic image (The Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2004, p.31).

The reconstruction of the bridge was inevitable, but the international debates evolved on how this topic should be approached. In early 1998 UNESCO authorized a special committee for supervising the reconstruction activities, and to decide which came later in a form of replicating the destroyed bridge using the same old construction methods and materials. "Given the importance of the Bridge, its reconstruction could assume a symbolic significance; it is therefore

Figure 4.2.5 *The reconstructed Stari Most as it looks today* (WordPress: bosniahistory 2013)

very important to understand the structural capabilities of the bridge in its original configuration" (UNESCO 1997, p.170).

The operation was financed by the World Bank in cooperation with the city of Mostar, while UNESCO handled the management coordination. The restoration plans produced by the UNESCO committee relied on the documentation of the bridge which was conducted prior to the war. They initially aimed to reusing the original stones which inhabited the river as a result of its destruction, unfortunately much of these stones were wrecked and fell into decay. Thus, a new plan replaced the old one, and new stones extradited from the same location used by the Ottomans, were put in place (ICOMOS 2005).

The reconstruction of the new bridge was done between 2001 and 2004 and resulted in an iconic replica of the destroyed bridge in its original location which was celebrated vastly by the international community. In the statement of authenticity of the produced copy UNESCO stated that: "The reconstruction of the Old Bridge was based on thorough and detailed, multi-faceted analyses, relying on high-quality documentation. The authenticity of form, use of authentic materials and techniques are fully recognizable while the reconstruction has not been hidden at all" (UNESCO 2017c). The original stones of the destroyed bridge were carefully collected and catalogued into a museum to reflect the history of Mostar prior to and during the war. According

to UNESCO the surrounding urban core was restored to its original structures, the historic layers of the city were respected and could be traced throughout the reconstruction project.

4.2.6 The narrative between international agencies and locals

International professionals and donors alike had this false assumption that the replicated version of the destroyed Stari Most bridge can reconnect the two bifurcated communities, and that this physical representation of reconstruction would help to mend all the war's psychological repercussions, which unfortunately for many reasons was not true. The official narrative adopted by UNESCO (2005b, pp.182-3) reads as follows:

> With the 'renaissance' of the Old Bridge and its surroundings, the symbolic power and meaning of the City of Mostar - as an exceptional and universal symbol of coexistence of communities from diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds - has been reinforced and strengthened, underlining the unlimited efforts of human solidarity for peace and powerful cooperation in the face of overwhelming catastrophes.

This hypothesis that portrayed the bridge as a 'living thing' denied the religious aspect that the international agencies claim to respect and reflect through the reconstructed structure. The bridge is no longer 'just a bridge,' it turned into an 'intended monument' of Mostar, according to Aida Omanović, head of a local Mostarian NGO (Quoted in Krishnamurthy 2012, p.82):

> When the Old Bridge was destroyed, it was considered [that] Mostar is dead –totally killed. Because that component is [of the city was] destroyed, no one could even imagine this [ever imagined this possible]. Now it is an advertisement, it is some story that they want to sell. Much greater value of a bridge is its perception as a bridge, than as any other created symbol.

Both the enclaved Stari Most and its surrounding were inscribed on the World Heritage list in July 2005, despite the critiques that suggested that the reconstruction project failed to achieve its key motive in generating hope and reconnecting the city psychologically. The top-bottom approach adopted by the international agencies proved invalidity, in meeting the residents' essential needs and prioritizing the rebuilding of iconic heritage property. According to Calame and Pasic: "for about 20 percent of what it cost to reconstructing the Old Bridge, the former high school - located along the Boulevard exactly in the centre of the city and formerly attended by residents of every ethnicity - could be renovated, equipped and staffed" (2009, p.16).

Some Mostarians still hope that the new bridge would lessen the division, but still believe that the old bridge is irreplaceable (Balic 2003):

> I said at the time that it should be left as a reminder for future generations of what mad people in mad times are capable of doing. But now I hope its reconstruction will make this town less divided, and that it will bring the two sides together again. I'm proud, of course. But, you know, I still feel that something has been murdered here. The old bridge had its recognizable patina.

4.2.7 Conclusion

It was suggested that foreign donors sought through their contribution to reconstruct Mostar's spaces and monuments, to accomplish reconciliation and enhance the recovery process which was not evident in many cases. The main focus of these agencies was dedicated to reconstructing the significant monumental buildings within the historic quarters and neglected the secondary buildings of daily-life importance such as houses, schools, hospitals, etc. This dominance of reconstructing and restoring symbolic buildings over the revitalization efforts, led to complete frustration among the residents of the city.

The lack of financial stocks and local capacities to carry out rehabilitation projects forced the officials from both sides of Mostar to seek foreign investor agencies which resulted in the production of many projects that did not reflect nor satisfied the local needs. The case of Mostar is particularly significant because it reflects the deficiency of those agencies in understanding the social context of both the conflict and the basic needs in its aftermath.

The approach in BiH aimed to cover the painful memories of war instead of recovering and dealing with them, reconstruction to claim that nothing has ever happened which in turn created a historic void that falsified the narrative, and as a result the healing process. More than twenty years have passed since the peace agreement was signed and the development projects were initiated, but still, there are not any clear demonstrations that the tension has been resolved and that the nations are brought back together. Looking at Mostar's skyline from the surrounding hills, one could see that the division is still physically present just by tracking the religious representations in both sides. The majority of the churches are still concentrated in the west-side of the city where the Croats Catholics used to dominate, and most of the mosques still inhabit the east-side where the Muslim Bosniaks are still a majority.

Despite that the project to restore the bridge and its surrounding was deemed successful in terms of conservation practices, it failed massively in filling the socio-religious gap. It was argued that the funds were better invested in initiating small-scale social projects, and that the value of the new bridge is reduced to its architectural/symbolic one.

In view of this, even by reconstructing the bridge in the city's heart, Mostar never recovered its division, and part of this outcome lies on the international agencies' involvement. While the Bosnian politicians belonging to different ethnic groups were too hostile to work together and with the poor financial situation, the international involvement was much needed. However, not understanding the background nor the consequences of the conflict led to creating parallel realities and denying certain narratives, pouring the funds into reconstructing what the 'international community' thought to be important and ignoring the demands of the residents resulted in producing a false image of hope and reconciliation.

4.3 Beirut, between destruction and reconstruction — space privatization, and segregation

The new urban landscape produced by the rebuilding of central Beirut mirrors an exceptional example on the connection between memory and politics in the post-conflict situation. The reconstruction project displays a clear case of privatization of space and social exclusion, which are manifested through spatial segregation of the urban structures. The project reflects the attitude of Lebanon's political figures and the society's elites towards the memories and narratives of the civil war. Their attempts to purify Beirut's centre of the violent crimes committed during the war by adopting the 'war of others' ideology forced some social-amnesia over seeking the facts. The decision to forget the civil war was shaped with a total exclusion of the Lebanese society, and with absolute assertation on the motto 'no victor, no vanquished,' which meant none of warring factions involved in the civil war would be prosecuted, nor punished for their crimes.

The Beirut case study is highly significant, because a similar situation of political dominance over the narrative of the conflict is taking place in Syria at the moment, with a high possibility that the

same scenario might be repeating itself. My interest in the Beirut project revolves around the following points: was the isolated island of the new inner core produced by the war, or by the rebuilding project? Why was the privatization of public spaces and residential buildings approved

Figure 4.3.1 *Beirut from the American University* (American Colony Photo Dept., between 1900 to 1920)

Figure 4.3.2 *Beirut. Street scene* (American Colony Photo Dept., between 1898 and 1946)

by the government? What was the role of the interim government back then in legitimizing new laws that would benefit the Lebanese elite?

4.3.1 The Lebanese civil war and the destruction of Beirut

By 1975 and right before the beginning of the infamous civil war, Lebanon was the home of more than three million inhabitants, 1.2 million alone lived in Beirut. The capital of Lebanon was considered a bridge that connects the Middle East with Europe and an economic hub as one of the most powerful financial centres in the region. Beirut was named 'Paris of the Mediterranean' in reference to the French colonial occupation influence on the city's architecture and the alternative styles of living. Beirut was known for its western liberal character and the homogenous living between the different ethnic groups, Christians and Muslim sects lived peacefully within the city (Sandes 2010, p.84).

Even though a democratic government with an elected parliament was endorsed in 1943 after independence from France, the parliament was divided into power-sharing sectarian bodies with a concentration on Maronite Catholic. It is true that before the civil war the country's economic status had remarkable growth, this prosperity; however, was not distributed among the population but was restricted to those with wealth and political power (Makdisi 2000, pp.164-6).

The outbreak of the Lebanese civil war came as a result of the internal fighting over power and the systematic normalization of violence. The hostility spread in the city and sectarianism took over its image. A coalition of Christian militias countered an alliance of Muslim sects and left-wing supporters, which bounded with the Palestinian Liberation Organization. The communities of both fighting sides armed and organized themselves in newly formed sectarian militias. The war exploded when the majority of the Muslim militias rejected the existing governmental status quo with the Christian majority, in order to create an Arab nationalist frontline in Beirut, which adopts policies of the progressive leftists and actively supports the Palestinians in their struggle against the Israeli occupation (Picard 2002, pp.107-8).

The Lebanese war can be categorized into three main phases: the first phase took place between 1975 and 1982 and was famous for the irregular street fights between the armed militias, these fights; however, were often concluded with an armistice. The second period of war turned more brutal and started with the Israeli invasion in 1982, this phase lasted for the following three years until 1985. The irregular battles between the warring factions erupted again right after the retreat of the Israeli troops until 1989 (Kalyvas 2005, p.97).

The sectarian nature of the conflict was demonstrated with excessive use of force and brutality against the counter community, civilians from both sides were targeted for purposes of ethnic cleansing and displacement. The fierce fighting between the Christian and Muslim militias caused Beirut to become divided into two ethnically separated sides, east and west parts, by the infamous green line which crosses the central district of the city through the Martyrs' Square (Najem 2012, p.35).

The east-west division of Beirut changed its urban landscape; the once vital economic centre of Beirut turned into a military hub, transforming its most important commercial and business centres into military bases. This form of occupation had its toll on the city's understanding of space, the residential and private buildings were taken over by snipers, while other public facilities like schools were used as militia barracks or a place for homeless people (Davie 1993, pp.2-3; Fregonese 2012, p.325). The green-line referred to the belt of greeneries that grew during the civil war period, grass and trees outgrew freely in the abandoned buildings and streets in the buffer-zone of the city (Charlesworth 2006, p.60).

Figure 4.3.3 *Beirut's downtown before 1975* (Pinterest: Rana Antar n.d.)

The city centre was caught in the middle of the notorious battles which caused a huge destruction, this militarization of the city and the violence committed by the warring militias were categorized as "urbicide[9]." Violence and hostilities against the opponents generated by feelings of inequality of wealth distribution and social class categorizations, were expressed through the deliberate destruction of the urban structures within the city (Fregonese 2009, passim). The war promoted spatial segregation between the residents of Beirut, as many were forced to relocate internally or even externally, a strong feeling of solidarity started to form between those who inhabited a certain part of the city. The political unrest and the weakening of the government provided an opportunity for the fighting militias to take over, each in their territory and to play state by providing some order and security to those who settled in their areas (Mikdadi 1983). The peace settlement which put an end to the war was finally signed by the different conflicting militias in 1989 in the city of Ta'if, Saudi Arabia. The Ta'if accords paved the way for the Lebanese parliament to conduct a

[9] "'Urbicide' derives its meaning from the joining of 'urban' and '-cide.' Taken literally, 'urbicide' refers to the 'killing, slaughter' or 'slaying' of that which is subsumed under the term 'urban'" (Coward 2008, p.38). The term was coined by several American writers in the 1960s, and gained popularity in the wake of the 1992-5 Bosnian War when it was used to describe the widespread intentional destruction of the urban environment within that conflict –especially when referring to the case of Sarajevo, where landmark buildings were deliberately targeted and destroyed– (Coward 2008, passim).

Figure 4.3.4 *A view of the city centre destroyed by bombardments during the civil war* (Abbas 1977)

reformation of the constitution which included the disarmament of the fighting groups and equity of the Muslim-Christian governance of power (Norton 1991, p.458).

The aftermath of the Lebanese war resulted in the death of more than 150.000 persons, the disappearance or the injury of 250.000 others. The war left the country in a devastating economic condition, the financial loss was estimated with 40 billion dollars (Sandes 2010, p.82).

4.3.2 Beirut and memory

Even after signing the peace agreement and bringing the domestic chaos in Lebanon into an end, the political conflict in the country was not resolved. The ambiguous settlement between the fighting groups and the way the elected government dealt with the war's repercussion portrayed an inconclusive phase of conflict-related amnesia. The collective narrative of the past was deliberately ignored in Lebanon and it was clear that there was an absolute absence of any state attempt to create national war memorials or keep any sites for remembering (Makarem 2012).

The Lebanese political elites played a critical role when deciding for the memory narrative in Lebanon; the discussion on which story to tell was influenced by a principle known as 'the war of others.' This term absolves the Lebanese of their responsibility in creating the civil war and portrays it as a proxy conflict where external countries played the biggest role in generating chaos and

conflicts within the country. This notion denies the importance of any national memorial of war because it demonstrates that the Lebanese people were a secondary party of the conflict and; therefore, did not need any memory of what was taking place in their country. There was a noticeable conflict between the 'pro-memory' and 'anti-memory' discourse in Lebanon, as the country's elite and those in power believed in 'the war of others' concept and shifted their focus to the governing of Lebanon and promoting a specific narrative which 'in their opinion' would aid in reconciling the wounded Lebanese society. The memory debate in Lebanon influenced many post-war reconstruction decisions, but since 2005 this debate and the elite's influence on the discussion were limited as the population took over the streets after the polarization of the Lebanese society. The nowadays Lebanese discourse on memory still adopts the "war of others" concept, but does not deny certain events related to the war. It is noted that many political parties try to promote their story and their memories of the war in an exclusive manner (Haugbølle 2010, pp.13-6).

In 1994, the Lebanese government with its head Rafiq al-Hariri[10] approved the outset of the developing real estate company Solidere (Société Libanaise pour le Développement et la Reconstruction), which was founded by al-Hariri himself with a capital stoke of $1.8 billion divided into "60% contributions in kind by property holders in the area and 40% contributions in cash submitted by subscribers following an initial offering" (Baecker 2013, p.3). Soon after its inauguration, the state appointed the company to lead the reconstruction of the heavily damaged city centre of Beirut, with the main aim to revive it as a vital centre of businesses and luxurious lifestyles. Solidere was considered a company of a public-private joint venture where the elite, most influential Lebanese politicians, and wealthy Lebanese figures in diaspora had shares (Baecker 2013, pp.3-4).

Solidere adopted the same vision and was so amnesia-oriented, which was reflected by the reconstruction methods which actively denied many memories and places of the war. Solidere's

[10] Rafik al-Hariri was a businessman, politician and head of a prominent Lebanese Muslim family. He was appointed the prime minister of Lebanon between 1992-1998 and 2000-2004, as a representative of the Sunni-sect in accordance with the constitutional power-sharing rule between the various religious sects in Lebanon. al-Hariri made his fortune after establishing a construction company responsible for carrying out urban development projects for the royal family in Saudi Arabia (Baecker 2013, p.3). Solidere was described as al-Hariri's "personalized project," (Randel 2014, p.8) and while "the family claims [he] never owned more than 6% of the company's shares," (Baecker 2013, p.3) "it was rumored that [he] was the largest property owner in Lebanon and that Hariri himself owned more than 50 percent of Solidere's shares" (Sawalha 2010, p.27). Rafik al-Hariri was assassinated in central Beirut on 14 February 2005.

Figure 4.3.5 *Solidere's model for the development of the city centre* (WordPress: Peter Chamberlin n.d.)

influence and power came right after the end of the civil war, al-Hariri and the new company were forced to create a certain image of Lebanon's history where the war incidents were mentioned as a secondary matter. Even though Solidere's approach should have been neutral, being a company and not a political party, it failed to develop its point of view, and by changing the city's urban fabric, Solidere was able to create its narrative of Beirut. Erasing any evidence of war out of the reconstructed districts and having all the political support from the governmental bodies enabled Solidere to create a story of a city that never existed, not even before the conflict (Nagel 2002, pp.723-4).

4.3.3 Reconstruction of Beirut after 1990 and establishment of Solidere

The Lebanese war between 1975-1990 consisted of many discontinuous conflicts, the 15 years civil war had many lulls within. The breaks in the war were long sometimes and gave an impression of a period of peace where economic generation, as well as plans for reconstruction, were developed. With the establishment of the Council for Development and Reconstruction (CDR) in 1977, and during a break of the fighting, a plan to recover what has been damaged in Beirut's central district was developed. The plan considered Beirut's middle eastern identity and importance as a connecting point to the various communities that inhabited the city, as well as improvement of the city's basic physical and organizational structures and facilities (Nasr and Verdeil 2008, pp.1121-3).

However, this plan was not realized because the fighting resumed again. The second phase of relative peace took place in 1982 when another master plan was developed by Rafiq al-Hariri's company in cooperation with Dar al-Handasah international consultancy. Many plans were negotiated until reaching the final one which was adopted by Solidere, and a new era of development took place in the city's central district under the lead of al-Hariri and the company (Nasr and Verdeil 2008, pp.1127-8).

Solidere's plan was put in action at the end of 1983 with the absence of any legal restrains and governmental supervision, the company started clearing up the central district of its buildings: many historic buildings were demolished without considering the recommendations of the 1977 plan which stated the importance of such buildings and areas. The war broke once again and many buildings were destroyed, following the recommendations of Solidere's plan up to 80% of Beirut's centre should be demolished (Makdisi 1997a, pp.667-8).

The war in Lebanon caused significant devastation across the country but despite that the infrastructure and facilities in many cities were severely damaged or destroyed, the current government placed the reconstruction of Beirut's city centre as a top priority. In an attempt to revive Beirut's pre-war role as the country's economic, social and political heart for international investments (Randall 2014, p.7).

4.3.4 Solidere's socio-economic impact on Beirut's city centre

Solidere's legitimized its place in the reconstruction of Beirut's central district through finding ways to get involved with the Lebanese government, the head of the al-Hariri's company became the chief of the government's council and; thus, influenced all the decisions related to the redevelopment plans. The initial plans of Solidere had a timeline to be realized by the year 2000, but was revised again and shifted to 2007. The new master plan for rebuilding the central district was designed and completed in 1991, the proposed plan adopted modernity and revolved around one concept: Beirut's centre should be detached from the rest of the city. This approach intended to isolate the central district in order to create the perfect modern island with its "monumental axes, its majestic Champs-Elyseés-type' layout, and a mini-Manhattan island." In order to realize this plan, what is left of the city centre should be cleared of its structures regardless of its importance or the inhabitants' relationship with the place "planning is thus reduced to the production of images and post-modern clichés that could serve only real estate speculation" (Tabet 1993, p.95).

Figure 4.3.6 *Solidere's master plan for the development of the city centre* (Solidere n.d.)

The further destruction of the existing structures was faced with huge criticism, especially when addressing the new plans of the traffic networks and the immense scale of the proposed buildings. Many historic buildings were declared unsafe and were demolished; this demolition caused considerable damage to the neighbourhoods that embodied them, which were wrecked as well. The damages of the project were not limited to the structures but expanded to cover many other aspects, urban experts focused on the socio-economic impact specifically. Isolating Beirut's centre from the entire city and turning it into an extremely wealthy island, which explicitly hosts a minor percentage of the population had drastic impacts on the city's identity. The plan was censured by the public, stakeholders, property owners and architects which resulted in its dismissal (Makdisi 1997a, p.670).

Businessman and politician Rafiq al-Hariri and Solidere took the lead for the redevelopment and reconstruction of the Beirut's centre. al-Hariri and his wealthy partners from the Gulf-states had a vision which focused on returning Lebanon and its capital to the front as a financial hub for the whole region and a place for many rich Lebanese businessmen to resettle into (Randall 2014, p.8).

As soon as it was declared that Solidere would have control over the reconstruction project, the private corporation company started offering shares of its ownership to the different property-owners and stakeholders involved in the city centre: the company offered these shares under the condition of buying the lands or buildings of these stakeholders. By realizing this condition, the company gained unlimited control over the majority of the stakeholders and votes during the

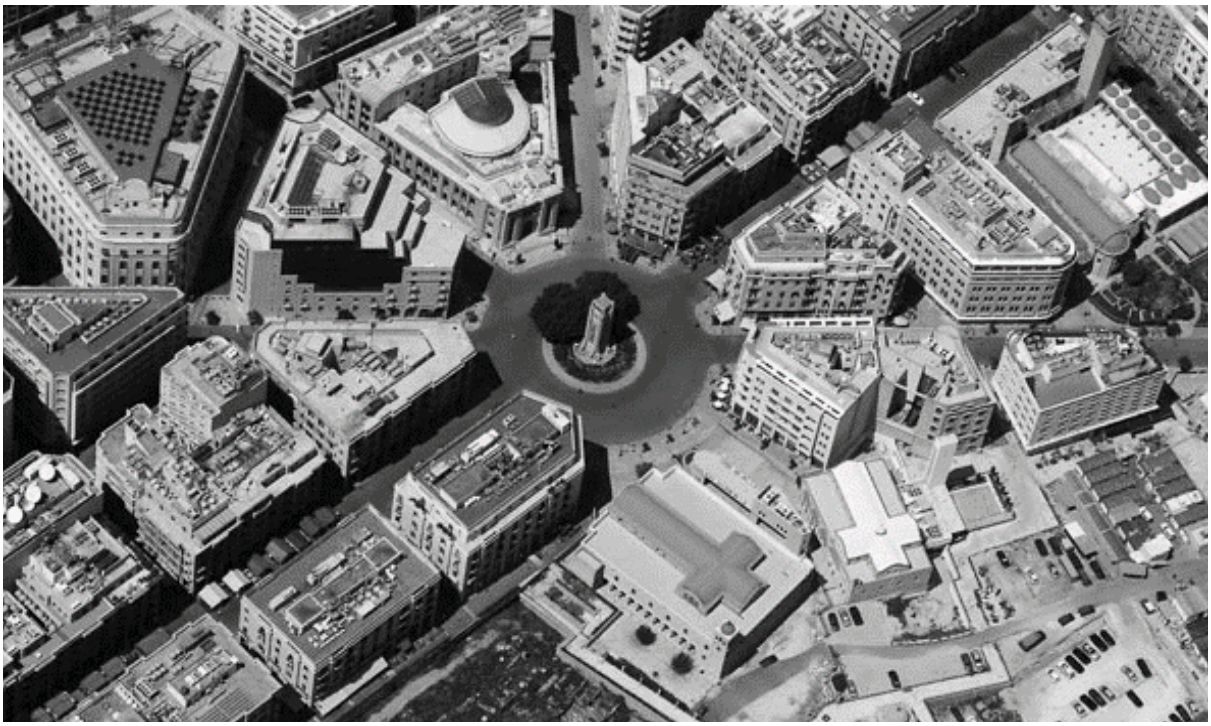

Figure 4.3.7 *Beirut's city centre as it looks today* (Solidere n.d.)

decision-making process, and hereby excluded any possible opponents to its plan. The project can be understood as a way by which the company imposed its political power through the physical rebuilding of the urban fabric and; therefore, gaining more partisan and financial capital (Schmid 2006, pp.370-1).

Solidere's power was sustained by the Lebanese parliament when it issued a new law in 1991 which granted the company the right to obtain the ownership of many properties of the original owners. This proposed law handed the management of the central district's private and public spaces explicitly to the company, and consequently, turned all the public plots within the centre into a privately-owned space. The company transferred the privately-owned shares into its own, and the original owners into "shareholders in an impersonal corporate structure." The company was then publicly accused of bribery and favoring its own profits over the publics.' The investment of the wealthy gulf-businessmen was the core generator of Solidere's reconstruction plan, and its dominance was described as "a non-state corporation invested with public functions and supported by external finance" (Randall 2014, p.8).

Solidere has set thirty years to realize its master plan which was estimated to start in 1994 and finish in 2024. In the company's vision, central Beirut needed regeneration instead of total rebuilding or restoration, and justified this with pointing out that the city's core was not only damaged because

of the shelling or the street fighting but suffered more of being neglected for many years (Sandes 2010, pp.82-7).

The project was designed to integrate parts of the city's original structure and adding newly developed areas and economic attractions which include commercial centres and hotels. It was suggested that the project aimed to reconnect the divided city along the infamous green line; however, it resulted at the end of the city being torn apart "between the space-time of a global post-modernity and an antithetical modern space-time" (Makdisi 1997a, p.704).

Many discussions considering the nature of Solidere and its plan arose as a response to shifting the concentration of the government from generating projects for the public into putting unlimited power and capitals in the hands of the private investors. The term "Harirism" was coined by literary critic Saree Makdisi, in reference to the supreme power of Solidere and its founder Rafiq al-Hariri. In his opinion (Quoted in Makdisi 1997a, p.698):

> For, to be sure, where state projects end and private projects begin can no longer be determined not because this is a strong state that is organizing a command economy but because capital has become the state. State and capital have become incorporated as one and the same force or process defined by the same discourse.

The central district according to Solidere's plan was to satisfy the international prospects as being a touristic hub with many industrial facilities. The modernity of the company's approach which contradicts the needs of the city's inhabitants was described by architect and urbanist Michael Sorkin (Quoted in Larkin 2009, p.13) as:

> This new realm is a city of simulations, television city, the city as theme park. Here is urban renewal with a sinister twist, an architecture of deception which, in its happy-face familiarity, constantly distances itself from the most fundamental realities. The architecture of this city is almost purely semiotic playing the game of grafted signification, theme-park building. Whether it represents generic historicity or generic modernity, such design is based in the same calculus as advertising, the idea of pure imageability, oblivious to the real needs and traditions of those who inhabit it.

Indeed, Solidere's project was mostly criticized but it had many supports as well, those who were in favor of the project focused on the neutrality of the space which would be created as a result of the international nature of the investments and Solidere's modern approach of urban planning (Gavin and Maluf 1996, p.44).

4.3.5 Solidere's reconstruction approach

Some scholars like Gavin and Maluf embraced Solidere's project and considered it a crucial effort to reconnect the divided city (1996, p.45):

> Fifteen years of war left a large part of Lebanon's economic and social infrastructure destroyed. Nowhere was the devastation more severe than in the square mile of Beirut's city centre. The decision to embark on the reconstruction of the Central District was self-evident—the country could not survive for long without its commercial, financial, cultural and administrative hub

In their opinion, Solidere focused in its approach to reviving the city's pre-war character, rather than considering the project a way to heal the wounds caused by the civil war. A little to no mention at all of the war was involved in Solidere's plan, the narrative constructed by Solidere did not view the destruction caused by the war as damage to the city but rather a chance for development and investments (Gavin 1998, p.217).

The company's neo-liberal approach to reduce Beirut's cultural and historic character into an economic market devoted to elite practices, was heavily criticized. The project aimed to privatize the central district by intentionally neglecting the war's consequences of spatial and ethnic segregation within the space, and shifting the attention into a promising image of a bright future produced by the company and its recreation of the urban fabric. This vision could be grasped by the statement of Nasser Chammaa, Solidere's CEO: "The memory of Beirut in ruins is fading, too. Repressing the past horror, with its traumatic effects on our lives, we go about our business and confidently face the future" (Solidere 2010, p.7).

As a result of the continuous fighting, Beirut became non-functional especially after most capitals abandoned the city and its banking quarter to seek stability somewhere else. Businesses and investments relocated within the city away from the fighting lines to new areas like Achrafieh in east Beirut and Hamra in the west. The destruction of the centre had an impact on the Lebanese feeling of belonging, despite their ethnic division, the city's inhabitants had very strong ties with the centre and viewed it as their common cultural space. Therefore, the reconstruction of the central district was about attracting foreign investments, as well as recreating and revitalizing this common space for all Lebanese to give them some connection to the city and a restore their identity. The reconstruction project faced many obstacles, one of the most prominent ones was the property

rights: many people owned properties or had rental contracts within the central area (Gavin and Maluf 1996, p.14).

According to the Lebanese law, in order to implement any plan a consent of all owners is required, which was not possible as a high percentage of ownership could not be located at that point. Therefore, the law has to change and that is when Law 117 of 1991 was passed, which enables the government to confiscate all rights to both buildings and land within the centre in exchange of a fixed sum paid the owners. The government legally passed these rights to Solidere in 1994 which was controversial for many Lebanese, as the head of the company was the prime minister as well. The company and its founder were accused of using public office for personal profits which al-Hariri then responded by claiming that a fragmentary approach for reconstruction would be time and price consuming and the only way to realize the project and attract the foreign investment is by clearing ownership rights and reconstruct on a huge scale (el-Khoury 1998, pp.183-6; Sandes 2010, p.85).

The impact of Solidere's master plan was not only socio-economic but it affected the spatial distribution in central Beirut as well. Realizing the plan meant that many buildings, streets and archaeological sites that survived the civil war were handed over to be destroyed. The demolition of buildings within the city centre and the rebuilding processes were relatively quick, Solidere's suppression of war memories resulted in the attempt to erase any proof of the civil war, it was as it never happened (Sandes 2010, p.86).

The future of Beirut in Solidere's vision should focus on its prosperous image and repress the damaged images of the past. Rafiq al-Hariri affirmed the necessity of such repression and defended the company's approach by stating that old buildings in the city centre bring painful memories of the civil war; therefore, should be demolished: "not a single building should be kept as it is to remind us of the civil war. There is no need to preserve this painful memory" (Quoted in Becherer 2005, p.18).

Beirut's 'Paris of the Middle East' pre-war identity was intentionally ignored by al-Hariri who proposed in his approach turning the city into 'Hong Kong of the Mediterranean.' An important part of Beirut's history had to be erased in order to realize the new master plan and the company did not take into consideration the nostalgia of the Lebanese population and their memories of the war (Schmid 2006, pp.374-5).

Figure 4.3.8 *The façade of a building, riddled with rocket shrapnel, is kept as a memento of the savagery of the civil war* (Abbas 2004)

Figure 4.3.9 *Barakat building, dating back to 1924 survived the war and is planned to be reused as a museum* (Geraldine Bruneel n.d.)

The Lebanese poet and novelist Jad el-Hage criticized Solidere's plan by stating (2002; Quoted in Larkin 2009, p.3):

> I hate the way they are demolishing the old centre and plonking down a new rootless, soulless ghost town with only a handful of old buildings preserved. Ignorant arrogant assholes! What do they think they're doing? We need to continue the country, not reinvent it. Every single fallen stone should come back to its place. We should rebuild the souks, restore the crumbling buildings - preserve the essence of a city that's been there at least five thousand years.

Popular demands to preserve some damaged buildings in the fabric of central Beirut started to arise as many Lebanese realized how the reconstruction project denied them their right to remember and keep traces of their past, the damaged structures presented part of the shared recognition and national remembrance. One Lebanese resident stated that: "the downtown always reminded us of our loss, it was like having a city without a soul, interestingly I don't even remember what it used to be like, but I know that people believe in this area" (Quoted in Larkin 2009, p.9).

The demands to keep some of the original fabric were widely rejected, al-Hariri was then called by some of Beirut's residents as the "one who built the stones and destroyed the people" (Larkin 2009, p.5). Protests started to spread within the city right after Solidere's announcement to launching the

project in 1994, saving what is left of the city's identity as well as protecting the remaining fabric were the biggest concerns. The adopted design included skyscrapers and massive traffic network where highways cross the heart of the centre in the Martyr's Square, this design meant the isolation of central Beirut from the rest of the city, which was widely disapproved by the city's inhabitants (Schmid 2006, p.373).

Solidere, moved by the popular critics against its plan, was forced to declare saving some of the archaeological sites within the old city as part of their overall plan. The company stated: "culture remains a dynamic and integral element of everyday life, just as it is central to the formation of the urban fabric, character, and economy of a city" (Solidere 2011; Quoted in Randall 2014, p.10).

The new plan developed after that was to include the careful restoration of what the company considered as heritage buildings from 'Ottoman and Mandate era,' along with preserving many churches and mosques as plain evidence of the harmony and homogeneous living of the city's residents. When it was time to realize the company's new plan and choose which buildings have significance and are worth keeping, Solidere chose to neglect this procedure completely and adopted a 'tabula rasa' strategy which fuelled the aggression and disagreements between the Lebanese community. It was suggested that the old buildings which were demolished as part of Solidere's plan, exceeded those destroyed during the civil war years (Randall 2014, p.10).

The 'occupation of public space' carried out in the city centre by the company's plan, turned it into an economic hub with a commercial centre dedicated to the elite of the city. Once the foreign investments were implemented, the properties within the central part turned extremely over-priced to reach a level of "400% between 2000 and 2010" (Randall 2014, p.9).

4.3.6 Re(creating) the Souk

The first part of Solidere's project to reconstruct and revitalize the central district included the reconstruction of the souks along with the banking area and the Place de l'Étoile. It is important to note that the damage done to the souks during the wartime was minimal, then a "series of mysterious demolitions in 1983 and 1986" followed, and of course the clearing of many original buildings guided by Solidere's project in 1994 (Makdisi 1997b, pp.23-4).

Solidere's plan suggested that the souk area was too damaged to be repaired or reconstructed, and the salvaged buildings were not of any significance to the city; therefore, the remnants of what is

Figure 4.3.10 *The reconstructed Souk of Beirut* (Solidere n.d.)

left of the old buildings were officially cleared by the company in 1994. Instead of recreating a new area which resembles the old one, Solidere planned to fill the gap resulted of clearing the former souk area from its structure, with underground parking for thousands of cars and designed the new souk to take place upon this huge parking lot. As part of the plan, the narrow, dense streets in which the old fabric of the souks was inhabited, would vanish for good (Sandes 2010, p.97).

According to Solidere, the souk project intends to "recapture a lifestyle formerly identified with the city centre and recreate a marketplace where merchants prosper and all enjoy spending long hours." The company; however, was not sincere in its approach in recapturing the former lifestyle nor recreating the identity of the damaged souk, the project replaced the souk with a shopping mall (Makdisi 1997b, p.24).

In the project booklet produced by Solidere on its souk reconstruction approach, the company often used the language of nostalgia to advertise for its strategy, the souks according to Solidere (2008, 55):

> Follow the ancient street grid implanted since pre-Roman times, and integrate archaeological features and historical squares and monuments, the Souks consecrate the historic value of the place. The project reshapes the oldest retail precinct in the world, bringing back people to a place they did visit and enjoy for the last three millennia.

Wording terminology such as "recreating and reconstructing what is old" were often asserted when introducing Solidere's project, these words; however, did not reflect the company's real approach and were just used in regard of the building styles rather than to echo the former space and its

connection with the Lebanese people. Solidere did not 'reconstruct' the souks, the company did not display the former space, its feeling or identity but replaced it with a 'constructed' new shopping mall. "Something strange is happening to our sense of history when we can confuse a shopping mall with a Souk, or rather when we can think of a shopping mall not just as any old Souk, but specifically as the recreation of a particular historic Souk" (Makdisi 1997b, p.24).

Solidere remodelled the past and adopted the concept of an ancient future when refereeing to the company's project for the central district. The project was designed for the wealthy Lebanese, as well as the international tourists who can afford its high prices. Being intended for leisure and luxurious purposes, many residents of the city were excluded from the unaffordable marketing brands and faculties. The pre-war souk represented more than a marketplace for the inhabitants of the city, it was a place where harmony between the different ethnic groups is witnessed, as well as a social hub and a meeting point for Beirut's residents. The American journalist Thomas Friedman described the unique identity of Beirut and its great market area before the war as follows (Friedman 1995, p.215):

> In Beirut, the embodiment of the Levantine idea was the city centre. The Levantine spirit of coexistence was both produced in, and reproduced by, the covered markets and stone-arched alleyways, the red-roofed houses and craft workshops, the arabesque Ottoman fountains and bookstalls of old downtown Beirut [...] In Beirut's city centre 7000 shops once stood shoulder to shoulder, with the Maronite cobbler next to the Druze butcher and the Greek Orthodox money changer next to the Sunni coffee seller and the Shiite grocer next to the Armenian jeweller. Beirut's city centre was like a huge urban Mixmaster that took the various Lebanese communities from their mountains and villages and attempted to homogenize them into one cosmopolitan nation.

The plan which seeks modernity against historicity with its reconstruction approach was faced with huge criticism and rejection by many Lebanese, especially those who had shares or owned shops within the souks area. Despite Solidere's persisting way to portray the redevelopment of the souk as a way to reconnect the past with the future, the gap between the present and the past could not be covered.

4.3.7 The Martyrs' Square

The original square was designed as a central square during the Ottoman ruling of Lebanon in the 19th century, it was then called the Martyrs' Square in reference to the Lebanese nationals that were hanged by the Ottomans in 1916, a status with faces of those hanged was erected in the middle of the square at a later stage. The square represented a symbol of unity to many Lebanese who associated with it a feeling of ownership and belonging, Lebanese from many different ethnic backgrounds used to meet there, especially after the construction of facilities around it where many hotels, shops, and cinemas were hosted (Sandes 2010, p.84; Humphreys 2015, p.8).

The square then reflected an ugly face of the war, the clashes along the green line in particular, as it crossed through it and destroyed most of its surrounding structures. When the war ended, many surrounding buildings which could have been salvaged were wrecked instead. The only remaining building was the Opera cinema, as well as the status of martyrs in the middle of the square. Solidere's approach to reconstructing the square aimed to create a major axis which would start from the south of the square to the sea-side without any interruption. In order to realize this plan, one of the square's prominent buildings had to be demolished, this building was known as the Rivoli theatre. The buildings along the major axis including the square imitate the grand avenues created in the heart of the city in the time of the French mandate. The new axis and the already existing ones did not reflect the collective memory of the Beiruties themselves but rather those Lebanese who lived out of the country and wanted to recreate a nostalgic image of the city. It was argued that Solidere's plan to reconstructing the square intended to reformulate the connections between the Beiruties and their city on the one hand, and between the city and the rest of the world economic centres on the other (Humphreys 2015, pp.8-9).

The first building to be erected was a large Sunni mosque in the south-west of the square, the work on Mohammad al-Amin mosque started in 2002. The lead of the construction work and funding was handed into the al-Hariri foundation and its head Rafiq al-Hariri who was later accused of using his political influence to secure the approval of building this mosque. Different Christian groups opposed the creation of the mosque and its massive size as it is exceeding the scale of an adjoining Cathedral and in their opinion disrespecting or minimalizing its importance. However, this heavy criticism did not stop the foundation from constructing the mosque and embracing a certain religious group while excluding the others. The construction of the mosque made a clear statement of Solidere's policy and portrayed how architecture and selective transformation could

be used to demonstrate both political and religious authority. Solidere's approach was criticized by the Beiruties who viewed it as transforming a place, which was shared by all Lebanese into a space for specific ones with limited access of the others. In 2005, a design competition to reconstruct the square was won by an architectural team from Athens, their design included a museum, an archaeological institution, a library, as well as shopping galleries. The construction of the new axis is still ongoing, and Solidere still aims to create an international commercial centre with the square in its heart. It is safe to say that Solidere's approach intentionally neglected the role the square could play in mediating the war's wounds and helping in the healing process (Humphreys 2015, p.9).

4.3.8 Conclusion

The new souks represented a symbol of collective amnesia and disconnected the city centre from its past, not only in the material-wise sense but extended to cover the mental-aspect as well. The way the new souks were designed was a clear statement from Solidere to the Lebanese to forget the past and the painful events in their history and welcome a new future that has nothing to do with the war trauma. Many Lebanese were forced to forget through the destruction of what is left and the recreation of the new space. People's relationship with the former souks was disconnected and many Lebanese felt like they have lost more than just a place, they lost what this place has represented to them and; therefore, a huge part of their identity was lost forever.

One can learn from the reconstruction of Beirut city centre that people could lose their place as well as part of their identity either by being displaced or removed from this place, or by removing their memories of that place by destroying it and creating something else. The loss of the souks, either by the war or by Solidere's plan created a feeling of unfamiliarity and displacement shared among many Beiruties.

While both the state and the sectarian elites created a parallel reality of the war, Lebanese intellectual scholars and activists stood against their approach, Solidere's project is "a concerted effort to wipe clean the surface of central Beirut; to purify it of all historical associations in the form of its buildings; to render it pure space, pure commodity, pure real estate" (Makdisi 1997a, p.692). Post-conflict Beirut was shaped with the manifestations of socio-spatial segregation, instead of promoting the shared space in the city centre as a place for recovery, co-existence and peacebuilding, Solidere's project deepened the division between the sects and religions, which is still evident even after more than twenty years have passed.

The new Beirut downtown is still divided across cultural boundaries and deemed as an isolated island where the urban fabric is physically and aesthetically separated from the rest of the city, "instead of spreading the reconstruction process throughout the metropolitan area, which could have helped to bridge urban and social gaps, all efforts were concentrated downtown, which is now perceived as an exclusive zone for a greater part of the population" (Martinez-Garrido 2008, p.7). This exclusivity of rebuilding resulted in producing a luxurious image of the downtown, which does not reflect the reality nor the orientation of the city's inhabitants.

4.4 Freiburg, retain the historic character of the city centre — rebuilding in historic context

Even though WWII is considered one of the deadliest, most devastating wars in history, and despite of the catastrophe and the sheer scale of damage; the city planners still managed to seize the opportunity for urban redevelopment. Modernization was seen by many German planners and architects as the sole solution to correct all the perceived deficiencies in the cities' fabric, which resulted from the irregular expansion of both population and city-borders prior to the war. While many German cities chose modernization and the rebuilding of specific historic monuments, other cities opted to retain the historic fabric of their inner core, with its pre-war characteristics through adopting a modest, traditional-oriented-rebuilding.

The rebuilding of the war-damaged German cities was initiated under extreme circumstances; while it is true that the damages varied across the country, much of the cities' infrastructure and facilities were affected and; thus, most of the reconstruction operations suffered great difficulties even when the damages were minimal. Those difficulties were not limited to the technical aspects of the operations, but rather revolved around deciding for the most appropriate rebuilding approach.

Reconstructing the medieval old city of Freiburg, in which more than 1.700 historic buildings had been devastated by the bombing, demonstrates a great example on how to retain urban structures within a damaged historical fabric, and restore them based on their pre-war spatial and architectural identity.

The focus in Freiburg is not relying merely on the situation of the city after the war, but shifts to discussing the practical aspects of the rebuilding project, and the way it was carried out between replication, restoration and rebuilding. Under the supervision and guidance of Joseph Schlippe, the

Figure 4.4.1 *Freiburg old city before WWII* (Augustinermueseum n.d.)

committed director of the communal construction and planning department, the reconstruction proposals, measures and methods were developed. The plans enabled the preservation of the historic identity of the city's inner core, while adapting it to the demands of economic growth and the increasing private-car-traffic.

Throughout this case, I researched the questions of: How, and to which state one should rebuild? How to construct anew while following the old patterns? What is the overall outcome of the project on the recovery of the city's identity?

4.4.1 Freiburg before World War II

Freiburg was considered one of the few German cities, whose historic core was preserved throughout the centuries. Representing the typical central European medieval city with a dense building structures and narrow street-patterns within its centre; the foundation of Freiburg dates back to the year 1120 and is widely recognized as a masterpiece of a Romanesque city. Freiburg's cultural identity and significance are rooted within its historical medieval urban patterns known as 'Zähringergrundriss,' as well as several historically significant monuments such as the 'Münster,' which is a church that dominates the old city's skyline until today. The 'Münster' is considered one of the most aesthetic Gothic churches in Germany, and part of its significance is attributed to the harmonic interaction between its structure and the flat surrounding medieval quarters. The old city

fabric and the monuments it embraces, symbolize the image and identity of the city of Freiburg which is still evident until today (Vedral 1985, p.7).

While the old city was originated during the 12th century, and regardless of the urban transformation throughout the following centuries, Freiburg managed to preserve its original plan and historic fabric. The pre-war layout of Freiburg's old city incorporated urban patterns and grid street plan which distinctly echo a typical medieval city of the 12th century: a central square in its core with the most prominent buildings; a wide market street along with it; and, an orthogonal grid of primary and secondary streets. While the main streets of the residential and trading areas framed a dense urban block system, the small narrow streets created another system of interconnected pathways in between those dense structures. Historical buildings and parcels were of a unique hierarchical plan: the major and most important cultural, political and economic buildings are located within the most central and greatest plots. For instance, the 'Münsterplatz' with the Gothic 'Münster' was the central market-place of the city and one of the oldest squares, dating back to the late medieval period (Baier 2017, p.17). Besides the medieval urban patterns and significant buildings, a special kind of residential typology can be found within Freiburg's old city: the 'Freiburger Bürgerhaus' that dates back to the 12th century as well, with its unique layout which consists of: a front house, a courtyard and smaller back-houses that were aligned by a long-stretched plot (Schmidt 1995, p.191)

With the beginning of the 20th century, the old city faced great challenges due to rapid urban growth and development, the historic building structures were extracted from their medieval roots and transformed throughout the following historical periods. Driven by densification of parcels and uncontrolled construction within the plots, the urban structures within the 'Zähringergrundriss' were altered as well. In a parallel process, the parcels would be divided and made even smaller in the succeeding years (Baier 2017, p.20). The rising interest in modern decorations could be considered another aspect which led to the transformation of the historic structures: new facades with modern architectural elements were installed on historic buildings, thereby changing the image of many medieval quarters. At the same time, the growing car traffic routes led to congestion within the old city and its narrow street grid; however, this issue was solved with a first renewal and traffic concept which was developed with the aim of restructuring the dense urban courtyards, and the creation of special logistics routes (Schmidt 1995, p.191).

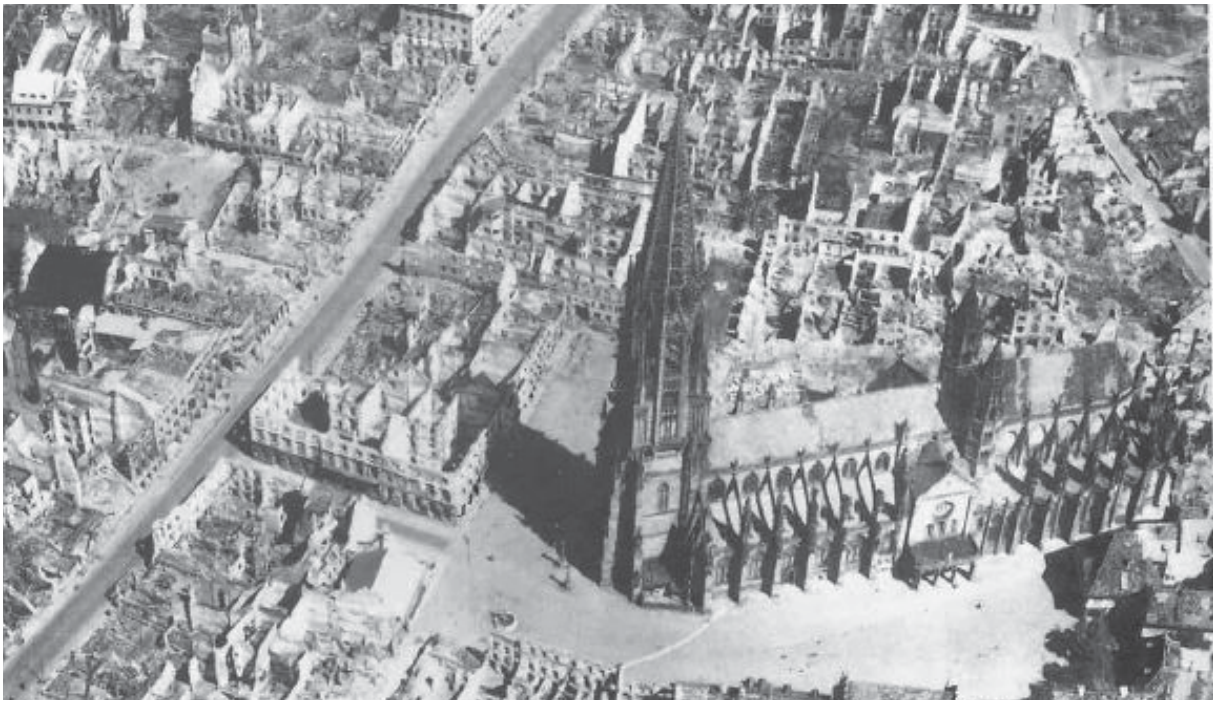

Figure 4.4.2 *Destruction within the old city after WWII* (Stadt AF n.d.)

4.4.2 Destruction of Freiburg during World War II

The bombing of Freiburg occurred in later stages of the war, in a single attack on the 27th of November 1944, aerial bombardments of the allied forces caused extended levels of destruction within the historic city centre (Schmidt 1995, p.195). The heavy bombing-raid which lasted for 25 minutes, created a firestorm that resulted in the death of more than 2000 inhabitants and a total of 12.000 damaged buildings —85% of Freiburg's building stock— mainly in the northern part of the city. Following the attack more than half of the city's population, which was estimated at 108.000 inhabitants, left the ruined city, most of whom would not return until the year 1946 (Stadelbauer 1994, p.150). The historical medieval structures within the old city borders suffered severe devastation, resulting in utter destruction of 1.700 buildings, and an equal sum that sustained varying degrees of damage (Vedral 1985, p.26). The housing quarters which embraced the significant residential typology of the 'Bürgerhäuser' were wrecked to a critical point, and the decision was made to clear many of these partially damaged or destroyed structures as part of the post-war reconstruction plans (Stadt Freiburg 1994, p.143).

It must be noted that only a few of these historical buildings have been documented prior to the war, thereby, the damage caused by the bombing during the war, and the removal of their remains through clearing the rubbles in the post-war phase, both contributed to this irreversible loss (Stadt Freiburg 1994, pp.143-6). Those who were involved in developing the reconstruction plans,

deemed many other surviving structures which date back to the 19th and 20th centuries "without any value" and, consequently torn those buildings down in an attempt to construct new ones (Stadt Freiburg 1994, p.147).

Figure 4.4.3 *Levels of destruction within the old city after the air raid in1944* (Stadelbauer 1987)

Many of the buildings surrounding the 'Münster' within the 'Münsterplatz' were heavily damaged and/or destroyed, but the church itself survived the attack and its structure remained intact. With minimal damages to its facade and roof, the 'Münster' was spared the tragic fate of the surrounding

medieval quarters, or the other churches which collapsed and were reduced into rubbles throughout the city (Vedral 1985, p.26).

4.4.3 Post-war reconstruction debate

Freiburg was invaded by the allied forces on the 21st April 1945. The occupation of the city was carried out without greater resistance of the German troops; thus, no battles were fought and Freiburg was spared further destruction. With the defeat and surrender of the German troops of the 'Wehrmacht' on the 7th/8th of May 1945, Germany was officially under the governance of the allied forces, who separated the country into four administrative zones, leaving the city of Freiburg under the mandate of the French Military government (Vedral 1985, p.32).

The first years following the end of WWII were characterized with a period of slow social and economic recovery under the circumstances of a war-torn population, which lacked the basic living needs; absence of materials; and, financial resources. Consequently, the reconstruction of the old city of Freiburg fell into neglect, and was not considered a top priority of the city's government and the population (Stadt Freiburg 1994, p.91).

After a few years of gradual economic recovery, and by the year 1948 a currency reform was established in West Germany, as one of the stepping stones towards economic growth, enabling the reconstruction of cities and infrastructure to begin. At the same time, a general public debate on the future of Freiburg's urban planning approach was initiated. The first reconstruction measures took place from 1949 on, with the priority of constructing residential buildings for a provision of much-needed living space for the returning population (Stadt Freiburg 1994, p.91).

While the general debate on the damage of the war considered it an absolute tragedy on the one hand, some considered it an opportunity or a chance to renew and restructure the city's urban patterns, structures and identity on the other. The medieval old city structure represented a great challenge for urban development even prior to the war. In order to revitalize the old city, it was necessary to face several issues such as: the adjustment of parcellation; the refurbishment and renewal of deteriorated building stock; the development of a new traffic concept; and, opening of the closed-dense courtyards to public access/pedestrian traffic (Schmidt 1995, p.195).

The roots of the reconstruction plan of the severely destroyed Freiburg, relied heavily on concepts and proposals from the 1920/30s. The new plan was mainly developed under the supervision of

Joseph Schlippe, the director of the communal construction and planning department, who took office in 1925 and was responsible for reconstruction project between 1946-1951 (Schmidt 1995, p.189).

Compared to other German cities, the reconstruction approach for Freiburg's old city progressed within an early stage of the post-war period and by the end of 1945 the first reconstruction plan called 'Wiederaufbauplan' was developed by Schlippe. The plan was influenced and followed the existing renewal proposals which existed in the city for more than two decades (Vedral 1985, p.40) and aimed to "retain the romantic and charming character of the historic town" (Diefendorf 1993, p.197).

Following a presentation of his 'Wiederaufbauplan' in front of the newly elected mayor, Schlippe introduced his approach to the city council on the 11th of December 1945. The proposed reconstruction plan was based on the historical urban patterns of the 'Zähringergrundriss,' in his vision, the city was supposed to be rebuilt following the pre-war urban structure, appearance and identity (Schmidt 1995, p.195). Schlippe's approach was verified and approved by the city council in the following years (Schmidt 1995, p.189).

Schlippe's main concept was to revitalize the old city of Freiburg based on its medieval urban pattern by rebuilding the major monuments on the one hand, and developing solutions for issues regarding the residential and infrastructural sectors, that had been in need for renewal and renovation on the other. The construction of new large buildings was excluded from the plan, because "such government and commercial buildings might displace housing and smother the intimate life of the centre" (Diefendorf 1993, p.197).

The modest plan of Schlippe which adopted a more conservative/traditional approach, was challenged within the early stages of the reconstruction process between the years 1949—1952. Competing reconstruction plans which focused on a modernistic transport-oriented reconstruction: widening of streets; a maximum flow of traffic; and, the dominance of transport, were rejected and not implemented even though this shift to the modernization of rebuilding plans was taking over the debate within Germany for years following the war (Stadelbauer 1994, p.151).

The legal foundation of the reconstruction process 'Badisches Denkmalschutzgesetz' was established on the 25th of November 1949, and was responsible for providing the legal base for reorganizing property and land in order to enable, and speed up an integrated reconstruction

process. This was achieved through the re-arrangement of parcel borders or the apportionment of entire parcels, aiding the speedy construction of buildings within orderly and straight plots (Vedral 1985, p.58).

4.4.4 The Schlippe plan for the reconstruction of Freiburg's old city

As discussed in the previous section of the work, the reconstruction plan which was developed under Schlippe's guidance, and gained a popular recognition by then the government, has asserted to achieve an overall goal of rebuilding old Freiburg based on the historical medieval 'Zähringergrundriss.' In order to continue and control the process, Schlippe proposed the creation of a reconstruction and design office 'Wiederaufbaubüro' under his leadership, his proposal was approved by the mayor, as well as the French military government.

This newly founded 'Wiederaufbaubüro' which was publicly presented in February 1946, was responsible for the entire design within the city and its old quarters. As well as, the development of reconstruction plans 'Wideraufbaupläne' and construction plans 'Generalbebauungspläne' as the legal and spatial basis for future construction. Within the reconstruction process, the administrative implementation and oversight were handled by the city administration under control of the French military government (Stadt Freiburg 1994, p.79). In November 1948, the work on the reconstruction plan under the guidance of Schlippe was finally approved by the city council (Stadt Freiburg 1994, p.81)

Schlippe's plan was heavily criticized by modernist colleagues: it was seen as a reconstruction of former urban design concepts that did not fit into the requirements of the new 'functional city' model. After several steps throughout the legislation processes, the plan was passed under the approval of the federal states on the 15th of September 1955, as a zoning plan 'Bebauungsplan' (Stadt Freiburg 1994, p.82).

The destruction of Freiburg was seen by Schlippe as a chance to shift the city's structure back to its pre-war medieval appearance, character and dimensions. Based on that, Schlippe's approach would connect directly to his pre-war concepts of renewal of smaller alleys; development of a structured plan for the city centre; traffic reduction; preservation of the old city's residential character (Stadelbauer 1994, p.152). Schlippe decided to rebuild the buildings of high significance which contributed to the city's cultural landscape, and permitted the construction of new structures that would fit and blend into the historical image of Freiburg.

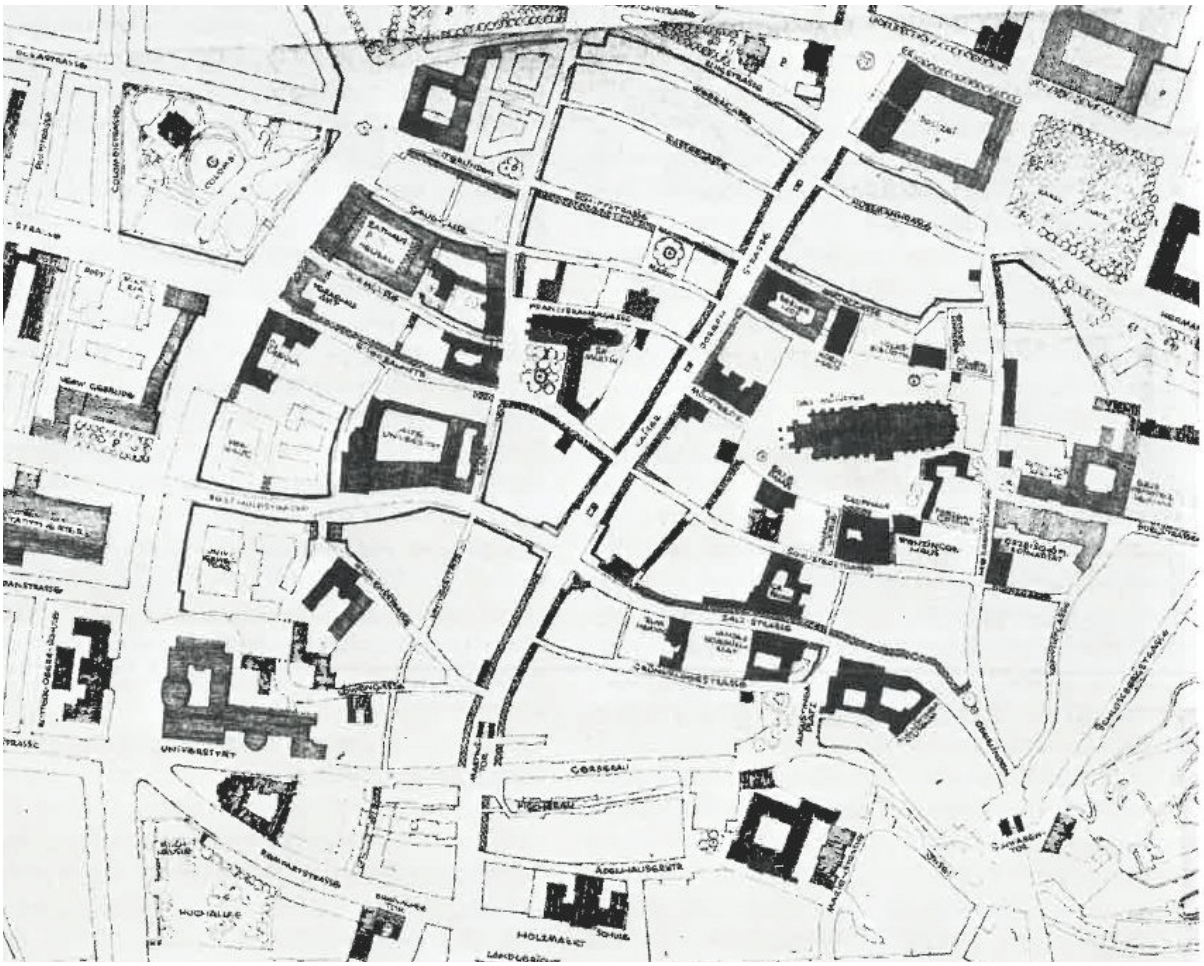

Figure 4.4.4 *Schlippe's first reconstruction plan for the old city from 1946* (Stadt AF n.d.)

4.4.5 Preserving Freiburg's spatial — historical identity

The historical medieval urban pattern of the 'Zähringergrundriss' within the perimeters of the city centre, was considered the most pre-war characteristic structure with its unique grid of streets and squares, which would serve as the ground floor plan for future urban development (Stadelbauer 1994, p.152). From that point on, within the old city the 'Münster' Gothic church should be made the visible-spatial focus to dominants the surrounding urban structure (Stadelbauer 1994, p.150). Buildings and monuments with historic significance such as the mayor's hall should be of a primary focus and overlooking appearance, while the surrounding urban fabric is supposed to be clear, simple and has a secondary role (Schmidt 1995, p.195).

The central squares such as the 'Münsterplatz' should be revitalized while sustaining the pre-war historical dimensions of shape and size. While damaged historical buildings and monuments should be partially rebuilt following the old patterns — the ones that are completely destroyed, might be replicated when deemed extremely significant (Vedral 1985, p.41). The destroyed areas should

"feature new building blocks with small gardens and open spaces in interior courtyards, which would also reduce the density of the central area" (Diefendorf 1993, p.197). The rebuilding process resulted in restoring or historically renewing more than 50% of the destroyed significant structures, between prominent monuments and residential buildings (Stadelbauer 1994, p.150).

In order to preserve the residential character of the city centre, Schlippe's concept focused on preserving and revitalizing the traditional 'Bürgerhäuser' as the main building typology with a limit of 3 storeys high, and a traditional side-gabled[11] roof-shape of the 'Traufendach.' Newly constructed buildings should not follow a modernistic architectural interpretation, but rather adapt to the 'Bürgerhäuser' typology based on a framework of scale, rhythm, material and colour. At the same time through land-use planning, several areas and streets were designated for shopping and businesses. This step aided in controlling the spread of non-residential land-use and, thereby, prevented the gentrification of residents (Stadelbauer 1994, p.150).

4.4.6 Reduction of car traffic

The reconstruction concepts for Freiburg had to deal with the great challenge of increasing private car traffic, while the general urban planning models of the 1950/60s considered the car-oriented city as the role model for future urban development, this approach was rejected by Schlippe. In order to adapt to the increasing traffic-pressure, a new ring road surrounding Freiburg's city centre was constructed with the major commercial, touristic and governmental buildings outside of it. This measure aimed to reduce the free floating of car traffic and to keep the city centre as car-free as possible. At the same time, this road was supposed to spatially define the city centre with its old structures, from the outer city districts, and to create an optical and functional contrast. The ring road was designed in its northern and western segments as a green belt accompanied by representative new buildings (Diefendorf 1993; Stadelbauer 1994, p.152).

Within the old city, car-oriented planning and adjustment of streets were partly proposed, but had less impact on the city, as this planning was not feasible for Freiburg's dense urban structure and street grid, which were preserved through the reconstruction plans of Schlippe. Some of the streets, for example the 'Herrenstraße' were reconstructed and extended in width, but under the condition of not harming the old city structure. The traffic situation in some major streets like the 'Kaiser-

[11] A side-gabled building faces the street with its gutter, which is distinguished from the front-gabled building that usually faces the street with its gable.

Figure 4.4.5 *Schlippe's first reconstruction plan for the old city from 1948* (Stadt AF n.d.)

Joseph-Straße' was improved for pedestrians, through reorganizing and enlarging the street profile, as well as the construction of pedestrian arcades on the ground level floor of buildings alongside the street (Stadelbauer 1994, p.153).

The widening and rearrangement of streets were made possible through changing parcel borders alongside the streets, in order to create balanced and straight profiles, which could not be achieved with the historical, irregular parcel grid (Stadelbauer 1994, p.153). At the same time logistics and transport-traffic were a necessity to deal with; therefore, new parallel logistic routes were constructed within the city centre to channel the increasing demand of logistical transport for the commercial uses within the old quarters (Stadelbauer 1994, p.150).

4.4.7 Conclusion

As in many other German cities following WWII, the damage and destruction within Freiburg were not only seen as a tragedy, but as a chance to adapt the historical growth of the city centre to

Figure 4.4.6 *The reconstructed "Münsterplatz"* (Stadelbauer n.d.)

modern socio-economic demands. But instead of replacing it with an entirely new, modernistic, car-oriented city centre —as was done in many other cases, like in Hamburg and West Berlin — Freiburg's heavily damaged historical core was rebuilt based on its medieval urban patterns, which is known as the 'Zähringergrundriss,' and means the spatial and cultural identity of the city for hundreds of years.

While traditional architects and city planners believed that the best way to recover the damages is by adopting the term 'Wiederaufbau' or 'reconstruction,' many others who sought modernity in their approaches, rejected this terminology. It was until the mid-1950s that the term 'Wiederaufbau' was replaced with 'Neubau' or 'Aufbau' in reference to creating completely new buildings or in some cases, adding new building proportions (Diefendorf 1993, p.xvii). This modern view which strays away from the modest approach of reconstruction was highly criticized by Freiburg's city planner and architect Joseph Schlippe. Even before the war, Schlippe developed regeneration strategies for neglected areas within the old city centre, his plans respected both the ancient urban structure and the layout of the historic streets (Diefendorf 1993, p.90). In his recovery plan for the old city of Freiburg, Schlippe urged for: "a greater measure of the lost trait of humility" and overruled "brutal muscular gestures, whether derived from the Wilhelmine era or from the New Objectivity, whether Nazi or 'organic'" (Diefendorf 1993, p.xviii).

Freiburg's reconstruction succeeded in bringing back the city's historic legacy of which the Germans felt most proud, and managed to regain the original character of Freiburg despite building anew. Art historian Juergen Paul described the rebuilding of Freiburg: "It was more the revitalization of a trusted architectonic structure in which one saw not only artistic value but also the expression of a particular form of life, namely the historic city as a visible and vital form of unbroken national- historical continuity" (Quoted in Diefendorf 1993, p.91).

The rebuilding of Freiburg's inner core conveys an appropriate method which balances between the traditional-oriented and the modernistic approaches of rebuilding. While the focus of the post-war arguments revolved around rebuilding specific historic monuments, the Freiburg case study shows that the restoration of the city's historic morphology is what matters most. The reconstruction plans did not merely focus on rebuilding the major monuments, but covered guidelines for creating new buildings which replicate the old ones in terms of building proportions, materials, colours and roof-lines, and thus managed to revive or recreate a sense of identity of the place.

The combination of the rebuilt monuments and the new installed buildings produced a great ensemble, which managed to give a positive impression of historic recreations of the traditional structures on one hand, and contributed to the continuity of the historic identity of the city on the other. Within this ensemble, new buildings and streets were integrated without disturbing the medieval patterns and appearance of the old city. Instead of removing the pre-war historical character of Freiburg, it was possible to recreate it while incorporating modern and new structures, especially buildings that fulfil the needs of the post-war society for automotive transportations, new residential and commercial spaces, etc.

5 Section Five: Perspectives of Syria's modern history - the revolution and its aftermath

The Syrian conflict is not only one of the deadliest, most destructive conflicts in recent history, it is also one of the most complicated. The narrative of the conflict between a righteous revolution, civil war and a proxy struggle, is still controversial. This following section emphasizes my personal attempt to develop a better understanding of the conflict's nature, reasons and aftermath.

The conflict is far from over, even though the battles are concluded in most areas across the country, the tension and the catastrophic causalities are yet to be measured. Grasping the country's political history is crucial at this point, without it, the consequences of the war cannot be quantified in terms of post-war rebuilding and spreading war-related propaganda. The war in Syria involved many international actors which roles, interests and benefits must be identified, between the regime's allies and the opposition forces, Syria's multifaceted struggle is entering a new era and history is being rewritten in false manners.

In order to understand the complexity and roots of the ongoing war, one has to examine the history and development of the Syrian social-political structure over the last 100 years, and how the Syrian regime under the leadership of the al-Assad family was able to sustain its power over the country since the 1960s. This section conveys my humble effort to voice the narrative of the conflict, which is being deliberately overlooked and falsified, and to emphasis on the fact that the Syrian population is as divided as ever.

The popular anti-government protests and civil rebellions which spread across the MENA region in 2010 reached Syria in March 2011, and what started as another unrest within the Arab Spring movement turned into a brutal armed conflict which has been fought over the course of eight years. Influenced by the Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings, the Syrian protests which initially called for enhancing the living standards, freedom of speech and equality were faced with extreme brutality by the regime and its martial agencies, which played a major role in inciting the Syrian movement to demand regime change and the resignation of Syria's president Bashar al-Assad. Within a few months and as a reaction to the excess use of force by the Syrian regime, the peaceful protesters

formed opposition groups and started to load with arms in order to protect the masses revolting in the Syrian streets (Rodgers et al. 2015). When the heavy battles reached Syria's capital Damascus and its largest economic centre Aleppo in 2012, the violence escalated drastically within a matter of a few months and the Red Cross declared the "Syrian conflict as civil war" (Blomfield 2012).

Nevertheless, the Syrian conflict was not being fought solely by the Syrian armed militias against the dictatorial regime, many regional and international countries got involved. The Cambridge English Dictionary 2018, defines civil war as: "a war fought by different groups of people living in the same country. Therefore, it could be argued that the involvement of foreign fighters as well as the interference of many countries make the Syrian conflict a proxy rather than a civil war. "What began as another Arab Spring uprising against an autocratic ruler has mushroomed into a brutal proxy war that has drawn in regional and world powers" (Rodgers et al. 2015).

5.1 Syria's political history

Looking at the country's modern history over the last 500 years, one could trace how far the sequence of Syria's rulers and the hierarchy of the political system have deviated both the country and its people from any form of democratic or judicial experience. These five centuries -mind the gap of three years period between 1946 and 1949- were dominated by either foreign conquerors or martial autocrats. This part of the Syrian history is gloomy indeed and recognized through its adverse characteristics: poverty, atrocity, and multiple wars which left the Syrian people longing for freedom, civil rights, and dignity (Saghieh 2011, pp.65-9).

5.1.1 Syria from 1914—1970: Post-colonial turmoil

Until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the region which is known as Greater Syria had been under the Ottoman rule for nearly four centuries. Once World War I ended in 1918, the Ottoman Empire was dismantled, and in 1922 the League of Nations divided the regions into contemporary states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine. France was granted mandate over both Syria and Lebanon, while Jordan and Palestine were put under the British authority (Hourani 1968, pp.52-5).

In this era, the concept of a mandate was perceived as a progressive attempt at breaking from colonialism, bestowing sovereignty through preparation of a national government capable of democratic self-governance when the mandate period ended. However, the French government

acted in its interest and at the expense of the countries under its mandate and continued to suppress freedom of speech, and political and civil rights. The French acts of injustice were faced with mobilized Arab nationalist movements, and Syria moved towards nationalist autonomy (Khoury 1987, p.7).

In 1944, Syria was granted sovereignty by both the Soviet Union and the United States of America, in 1945, Britain joined the allied nations which pressured France to end its mandate in Syria. Syrian Independence was secured in April 1946 and thereafter the country underwent a state of strife and instability as competing parties fought to take over its government. That era, which roughly lasted until 1961, was known for infamous coups d'état and counter-coups; many individuals acted as head of the Syrian government during this period (Library of Congress 2005, p.3).

Between 1958 and 1961, a brief political union was established between Syria and Egypt forming what was known as the 'United Arab Republic.' Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser was appointed the head of this coalition and soon after ordered the dissolution of all Syrian political parties including the Arab Socialist Resurrection party (al-Baath party). As a result of the Egyptian domination over the Syrian political life, Syria decided to secede from the union in 1961, triggering yet another military coup in the capital Damascus, which marked the start of another period of instability and changes in the government (Parker 1962, pp.15-7). In 1963 that the al-Baath party led its military coup, the so-called 'Baath Revolution,' acquiring the rule of the country. Many leaders of the Baathist regime were appointed as the head of state, precipitating another military coup, in November of 1970, known as the 'Syrian Corrective Revolution,' at which point Minister of Defense, Hafez al-Assad seized power (Library of Congress 2005, p.4).

5.1.2 Syria between 1970—2000: The reign of Hafez al-Assad

Shortly after a popular referendum in 1971, Hafez al-Assad was appointed the president of Syria and his thirty years presidency was sustained through shifting the utter control into his hands, by controlling both the military and security intelligence services. al-Assad created an authoritarian regime where security and high influential positions were handed to people from the Alawites sect, to which his family belonged. It was evident from day one that the regime portrayed itself to be totalitarian with one exclusive political party; any dissent would be repressed and eliminated, by any means necessary.

The constitution of 1973 granted the Baath party and its head al-Assad absolute primacy over Syria's government; Article 8 of the Constitution appointed the Socialist Arab Baath Party as the political leader of both 'society and the state,' which means that the president and his chosen guards dictated the political, security and economic life of the country. The Syrian Constitution indeed describes the government to have a Republican scheme and to be "a democratic, popular, socialist, and sovereign state" (Article 1.1). This description does not reflect the reality of Syria's government, which is military-dominated, one-state party and authoritarian. Syrian citizens cannot effect changes within the government, and the president is not elected but rather approved through a popular referendum (Carnegie Middle East Centre 05/12/2012).

The domination of the Baath party, as well as the martial support of the regime and the state of emergency imposed on the country as part of the ongoing struggle against Israel, assured the ruling of Hafez al-Assad for the following three decades. As part of his plan to keep the national cohesion fragile, al-Assad encouraged pre-existing social conflicts and delivered threats against organizations he perceived to be dissenting from his agenda. He eliminated any dissent movements, massacring members of the Muslim Brotherhood and their families in the city of Hama in 1982 (Rodrigues 2011).

Notably, the Syrian regime distanced itself from the other formal regimes in the region; establishing strong bonds with Iran, Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in Palestine, and nominally forming a defensive front against Israel on behalf of the pan-Arab nation; these alliances provided a deceptive legitimacy to the regime as a regional populist movement (Hirst 2011). Reforms concerning politics and economy were initiated during al-Assad's era but never saw the light of day. Stifled by corruption; emergency law, in the country since 1963; the monopoly of the state over freedom of expression and the violation of civil and human rights; the vast number of political detainees; the Syrian people were pushed to the precipice of rebellion (Human Rights Watch 2006).

5.1.3 Syria between 2000—2011: The reign of Bashar al-Assad

Bashar took office in 2000 after the death of his father, and despite the rising concerns about the succession of power within the al-Assad's family and turning Syria's rule into hereditary, a modern image of this young, educated, and secular leader was circulated among the Syrian public and abroad. Unlike his father, in his early ruling period, Bashar was considered a reformist, and accepted

by the majority of Sunni and Christian bourgeoises who used to despise Hafez for his rural and poor Alawite background and allies (Hokayem 2013, pp.21-2).

Despite the perception that Bashar had a reformative approach for the country, freedom of expression and civil rights continued to be restrained: criticizing the president, his family, the regime or questioning its legitimacy continued to be forbidden. People sympathized with the new president who openly discussed his struggles with the implementation of reforms, both within the al-Baath party itself, and in resolving the culture of corruption amongst the country's government officials. (Hokayem 2013, p.22). Immediately after occupying the presidential chair, Bashar faced the so-called Damascus Spring, during which several intellectual individuals met secretly and formed political groups to discuss the necessary steps for the political reform. As part of al-Assad's plan to seek legitimacy to his presidency, he responded to the demands and released many political prisoners, activists, and journalists, and a progressive outlook was then foreseen. Unfortunately, the brutality of the regime resumed primacy, hindering all negotiations, and ultimately terminating the reforms proceedings. The Syrian prisons were soon filled again with political prisoners, and those individuals that initiated the movement were either detained or exiled (Human Rights Watch 2006).

Nonetheless, Bashar did provide people with hope; he stripped several corrupted officials of the former regime from their powerful positions, and opened the market for private investors as part of his strategy to liberalize and privatize the Syrian economy. Bashar's plan was heavily criticized by the old Baathist guard, and the economic policy of the government continued to prop up the old neoliberal corrupted economy. As a result, unemployment levels were increasing, the gap between the rich and the poor widen, and wealth continued to concentrate in the hands of a limited number of corrupted citizens from Bashar's family and associates of both the military and the al-Baath party (Rafizadeh 2013).

The Index of Corruption Perceptions released by Transparency International in 2010 appointed Syria to position 127 out of the 180 countries they surveyed (Transparency International 2010, pp.3-12). This statistic reflects how damaged the country's economy was by the corruption that has obstructed any efforts to minimize the troubling 30% of the population which has been living under the poverty line (SRCC 2011, p.6). According to the report, *Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labour*, released by the U.S. Department of State in 2004, the Syrian government and security services continue to commit vicious human rights abuses and violations which include:

autocratic detention; torture; unfair trials and even assassination and murder (The U.S. Department of State 2005).

5.2 Syria in 2011: the Syrian uprising

5.2.1 Sectarianism

Poverty; lack of freedom; years of suppression, dictatorship, and corruption; the supremacy of the Alawite minority over Syria's capitals drove the frustrated Syrians into protesting, as the news of a flourishing Arab Spring reached their country. Civilians took to the streets with simple demands of freedom and end of corruption, but faced by the government's deadly forces and calls for the president's resignation have erupted.

When the anti-government protests spread all over the Syrian cities, violence escalates; the Syrian regime responded to the civil movement by killing protesters and detaining many others. In response to the regime's brutality, several political groups of the opposition armed themselves for self-defence, and to protect the civilians in their areas (Rodgers et al. 2015). Even though the Syrian revolution occurred within the context of the Arab Spring, it developed in a completely different way from its precursors; shifting from nonviolent protests into extreme brutality by the regime, which in turn resulted in the militarization of the movement (Bonfatti 2017).

Deeply rooted sectarian and ethnic divisions within Syria played an important role for fuelling the conflict and right after the first popular wave of protests; Syrians started clinging to their sectarian identities, either for feelings of socio-economic unity or simply as a way of surviving. This division which has been mounting for decades and upheld by the systematic sectarian discrimination, and prejudice of the regime and the Alawite dominance over the army and the security apparatus. Soon moved to shape the nature and narrative of the conflict from a movement of national unity, into a sectarian civil war fought between the Sunni majority population against the country's minorities with the Alwite president as their protector (Balanche 2018).

Within this scope, it is important to point out, that Syria is not a secular country and even though Islam is not allocated as the state's religion, the Syrian constitution states that the Syrian president has to be a Muslim (Article 3.1) and Islamic jurisprudence is the fundamental legislative source (Article 3.2). While most of the Sunni Muslims backed up the uprising, the main confessional

minorities supported al-Assad and considered him the defender of their existence in the region (Carnegie Middle East Centre, 05/12/2012).

The conflict revealed a profound fact of sectarian and ethnic divisions within the Syrian population and worsened alongside this sectarian fragmentation, which is deep-rooted in the Syrian society and dates all the way back to the Ottoman rule era and later to the adopted policy of Hafez al-Assad 'divide to reign' (Balanche 2018, p.xi).

But still one must conclude, that unlike the popular assumption that the Syrian revolution is caused by sectarian divisions, the uprising was rooted in the deteriorated social and economic situation within Syria before the conflict, that drove hundreds of thousands of Syrians to the streets. In other words, the policy of neo-liberalization and privatization of the Syrian economy since Hafez al-Assad's era, which continued to exist and even worsened the situation from 2000 on when his son Bashar was made president, are the main drivers for the Syrian revolution (Bonfatti 2017).

5.2.2 Economic inequality

Syria's urban population had a major shift in numbers in the 1970s, and as the main cities and their surrounding areas were not equipped to deal with the sudden growth, most of the new incomers inhabited what is known as 'informal settlements' which expanded geographically to host approximately 40% of Syria's population in 2004 (Clerc 2013, p.174).

Even though Syria's national policy states that all Syrian citizens are entitled to decent houses, the state housing policies proved to be insufficient and the issue of informal areas was never resolved (Alsafadi 2009). In 2000, informal housing issues were tackled and allegedly became a 'priority' to the government, many urban projects and master plans were developed for those areas but never took into consideration the question of affordability. The developed housing zones were high-priced and people with low income could not afford to buy a property within those areas included in the master plan, which puts the government commitment to resolve the problem under enormous suspicions. The issue with informal settlements in Syria is not limited to the lack of infrastructure and/or facilities but extends to cover property rights and registration. In those settlements (Wakely 2008, p.8):

> The ownership of the land is in dispute and/or is not legally registered; and/or the settlement is in contravention of the master-plan zoning regulations; and/or planning standards are not met; and/or dwellings are constructed in contravention of building standards and regulations.

Drawing on this information, it could be argued that the Syrian government deliberately ignored the informal areas and denied those inhabiting them any property rights, which was part of an agenda to exploit the cities' expansions later in up-scale development projects where poor people have no records of land entitlements/registration. It is important to note that the informal settlements, social stratification, and the struggle over land played an undeniable role in the Syrian uprising that has arguably emerged from those areas across the country.

Economic expert, Jihad Yazigi argues that the Syrian government used the management of land and property, especially within the informal areas, as a tool to assure its political dominance over the country particularly in the period between 2000-2010 with Bashar al-Assad's plans to liberate Syria's economy. As a result, many new regulations and laws were passed to guarantee the regime's supremacy over Syria's both public and private properties, as well as to attract investors from the Gulf region and expatriate Syrian businessmen. One of those laws, was Law 26 of 2000 which authorized the government to confiscate lands within city centres for reduced prices; as well as Law 41 passed in 2004 and amended in 2008, which requires inhabitants of border cities to pursue a 'security clearance.' In order to sell their properties, which was in many times denied in order to pressure those selling into paying bribes or giving away properties to government-figures for unfair prices. Both laws paved the way for Law 15 issued in 2008, which gave a green light to initiate many high-end residential and commercial construction projects. To allow foreign investment in those projects Decree No. 8, in 2007, granted the ownership of land to foreign investors which plausibly led to the increase of land prices and left those with lower income with no choice but to move to the cities' outskirts and informal areas (Yazigi 2017, pp.4-5).

The regime's economic agenda which focused on foreign trade liberalization came at the expense of Syria's poor population: the rising prices of property; the laws that favor commercialized housing and deliberately ignore the needs of the domestic population; the unwillingness of the government to include informal areas into their development plans as well as centring all projects in the capital Damascus and Aleppo, those reasons created more tension and pushed the Syrians to revolt in 2011.

5.2.3 The opposition within Syria

In August 2011 and as violence escalated, a moderate armed-opposition faction was formed and named the Syrian Free Army (FSA). The group contained members who used to fight alongside the regime, then deserted the Syrian army for believing in the eligibility of the Syrian revolution. The FSA had support from both the Western and the Gulf countries such as the U.S.A., U.K., France, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, among others. Throughout of the Syrian war and despite the international backing, the FSA has split into many different armed-groups, which unfortunately has extremist Islamic roots and the fight against al-Assad to them was merely to topple the miscreant Alawite-regime and to create an Islamic State (BBC 13/12/2013).

From that point on, many fighters tied with one of the major militant groups, the al-Nusra front - a Jihadist group that joined the Syrian conflict at the beginning of 2012-, while the remaining groups allied with Turkey, thereby aligning in its fight against the Kurdish forces within Syria. Only a small percentage of the original FSA maintained following its primary principles of toppling the al-Assad regime to create a democratic state with freedom of expression and civil rights. The religious- political division among the FSA fighting groups, as well as the uprising of extremist Islamic militias within Syria made it hard to distinguish factions and their causes and goals (BBC 13/12/2013).

The al-Nusra Islamic militant group was declared a terrorist organization by the U.S. in December 2012 after carrying out a series of suicide bombing attacks and killing dozens of civilians. Indeed, both al-Nusra front and the later Islamic State of Syria and Iraq (ISIS) are branches of al-Qaeda, but they operate as separate groups and do not engage with one another (Gordon and Barnard 2012).

5.2.4 Foreign interference in Syria

What began as peaceful national protests against the government escalated into a multi-sided armed international funded conflict that has been fought between the Syrian regime with its head Bashar al-Assad and its allies -Russia, Iran and Hezbollah in Lebanon- and the opposition factions on the Syrian ground, that are funded and backed up by -Turkey, the United States, UK, France, Qatar and Saudi Arabia. Seven years of devastating war turned Syria into a battlefield for multiple conflicts driven either by regional advantages or those of the world powers,' each with their agenda. While

the war is only getting deadlier and more complicated as time passes, it is safe to say that international powers are determining Syria's future outside of the country's borders.

To understand the nature of the multitude conflict, one must analyse the international actors involved as well as their motives for engaging in this war. Therefore, two categories can be divided: first the regional factors - and second global interests of the major world powers. Translated into the situation in the ground within Syria three intertwined conflicts and the involved players can be pointed out:

(a) the Syrian regime backed by Russia and Iran vs. the anti-government rebel groups supported by the U.S. and its western allies;
(b) from 2015 on the U.S. led military coalition vs. the Islamic State (ISIS);
(c) the Turkish military operations against the Syrian Kurdish militias with Syria.

Each of these conflicts is contributing to deepening the struggle and making a peaceful settlement which could end the war, impossible.

The UN: mediating conflicts on the side-lines

The U.S. and EU sanctions imposed on the Syrian regime and its associates since 2011 were deemed ineffective for many reasons. This failure to put an end to al-Assad's brutality could be attributed to the military and financial support he is receiving from the allies, but one could ascribe much blame on the humanitarian mission led by the United Nations in Syria.

The regime's involvement with the humanitarian mission started when it forced the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) to centralize its work in the capital Damascus (Sparrow 2018), and used its basic mandate of the UN General Assembly Resolution 46/182, which states that (United Nations 1991): "humanitarian assistance should be provided with the consent of the affected country' and that 'the affected State has the primary role in the initiation, organization, coordination, and implementation of humanitarian assistance within its territory." Thus, the Syrian government assured its complete control over the relief mission and its funds.

Despite the claim made by the UN that its aid program in Syria is designated to help the Syrian civilians, there have been many reports suggesting that this program is compromised and exploited to prop up the regime that is responsible for the deaths of half a million Syrians. Tens of millions of dollars is the worth of the contracts awarded by the UN and its agencies to the regime's closest

circle of business partners and family. The World Health Organization (WHO) provided the al-Assad regime with thirty-billion dollars, designated for international humanitarian aid; however, these billions are being used to overcome the sanctions' implications, as well as sponsor the regime's war spending (Sparrow 2018). The UN mission awarded a considerable sum to individuals or companies that suffer the international sanctions, as well as governmental institutions and new-founded charities or shell companies: like the one chaired by Asmaa al-Assad, the president's wife, and another one run by his cousin and business partner Rami Makhlouf. While the UN declared that it is doing its best to oversee that the funds are well spent and reaching those in need, the organization is working hand in hand with the al-Assad's family which concerns are far from helping the vulnerable citizens that are crushed by al-Assad's killing machine for the past seven years (Hopkins and Beals 2016).

The Guardian published in 2016 a detailed report that exposes hundreds of lucrative contracts which were granted since the launch of the UN mission in 2011, most notable was the $8.5 million contract awarded by two UN agencies to a Syrian organization set up by Asmaa al-Assad, named as Syria Trust charity, as well as forty-five-million dollars included in procurement documents which show that the United Nation did business with at least another 258 Syrian companies that are directly linked to the al-Assad or those close to him (Hopkins and Beals 2016).

UN argues that its work with the Syrian regime is necessary and unavoidable in order to provide relief to the Syrian civilians. This claim could be true to some extent but the argument to be made here if this business of millions of dollars is actually in the interest of the Syrian people at all; another point is the agencies' policy in prioritizing people who live in the regime-held areas and being unable to provide relief to those living in the besieged opposition-controlled zones, who are in the greatest need.

5.2.5 The situation in 2018: the end of the revolution and most of the fighting

With the Russian and Iranian support, al-Assad is regaining both political control and major territories he had lost over the course of the conflict. His utmost gain was the fall of Aleppo in December 2016 which was achieved by Iranian and Afghani Shiite fighters, al-Assad hailed this victory and considered it a critical moment in Syria's history as it arguably secured the survival of his rule and regime (Shaheen 2016).

There have been many peace talks between the government and the opposition representatives to resolve the conflict but have mainly failed. Most famous was the Geneva peace talks in February 2016 under the auspices of the UN for facilitating a peaceful political transition, the talks were deemed unsuccessful as well. Russia initiated more peace talks in early 2017, in Astana the capital of Kazakhstan, including delegates from the Syrian government, opposition leaders, and representatives of both Iran and Turkey, with the intentions of discussing political settlement in the post-conflict phase. The negotiations resulted in truce and cease-fire, but which were violated soon after when the Syrian regime continued to bomb rebel-held areas (Al Jazeera 2017).

By the end of 2018, Syria has returned in large parts to the control of the Syrian regime. The country is in large regions within a condition of a standstill. The opposition on the ground has been widely defeated and its leftovers are concentrated in a few places in the north around the city of Idlib and in the south near the Jordanian border. A defeat of the remaining armed groups seems inevitable. Iranian, Russian and Hezbollah forces are still operating on the ground conducting military operations to restore the power of the Syrian regime on the entire country.

5.2.6 Levels of destruction during the conflict

In the period between 2012 - 2018 the Syrian civil war caused widespread and extended levels of physical and humanitarian destruction throughout Syria. A recent World Bank study summarizes the major challenges regarding the physical destruction, economic losses, and social fragmentation (Batrawi 2018, pp.2-3):

i. 7% of housing stock destroyed and 20% damaged;
ii. 50% of health infrastructure is damaged and 16% destroyed;
iii. huge economic losses as for example GDP loss of 63% between 2011 - 2016 while the country needs around $200 billion for reconstruction funding;
iv. a decline of business activities - not only within urban areas but especially within the important agricultural sector caused by the lack of supply of electricity, fuel;
v. mass unemployment: 75% of Syrian workforce not officially employed; 60% of Syrians live in “extreme” poverty, while prices for basic goods, food, supplies increased heavily over the past years;
vi. 31% of the Syrian population are registered as refugees outside of Syria and estimations conclude the same number of people is displaced within the country.

5.3 The impact of the war on Syria's cultural heritage

Syria is famous for its historic sites, buildings and artefacts which are considered one of the most ancient in the world. Known as the cradle of human civilizations, Syria encompasses some of the oldest continuously inhabited cities with traces that date back to the first human habitation at c. 700,000 years ago. Being one of the oldest inhabited regions in the world, the archaeological record reveals evidences dating to the Palaeolithic burials, and include a range of archaeological sites which belong to every historic era that ever existed and range from 'the Babylonians, the Assyrians, and the Hittites,' all the way to 'the Sassanians, the Persians, the Romans and the Arabs.' The country has had six ancient cultural sites recognized by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites: ancient city of Damascus (1979); ancient site of Palmyra (1980); ancient city of Bosra (1980); ancient city of Aleppo (1986); Krak des Chevaliers and Qal'at Salah el-Din (2006); and the Dead Cities or ancient villages of Northern Syria (2011).

As the fights kept getting deadlier, the clashes covered many of Syria's historic sites to finally reach the inscribed properties. Therefore, the World Heritage Committee made the decision to put all six cultural sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger: "Syria's exceptional archaeological, urban and architectural heritage has been considerably damaged during the conflict, and has affected all six World Heritage Sites in Syria and eleven sites inscribed on UNESCO's Tentative List" (UNESCO 2013).

The escalating violence caused a huge loss of Syria's heritage property for which the country is most famous for, the Syrian heritage was damaged, destroyed and looted. While some damage activities were deemed of collateral nature and unintentional, many others were carried out with the aim of destruction, especially those committed by the Islamic State. In response to the destruction of Palmyra's ancient temple of Baalshamin, the former Director-General of UNESCO, Irina Bokova firmly condemns such incidents by stating that: "the systematic destruction of cultural symbols embodying Syrian cultural diversity reveals the true intent of such attacks, which is to deprive the Syrian people of its knowledge, its identity and history" (UNESCO 2015a).

The responsibility for damaging Syria's ancient sites lies on all the fighting groups involved in the Syrian conflict, the destructive impacts of the conflict could be summarized as follows:

Figure 5.1 *Bombing of Krak des Chevaliers Castle* (APSA 2014)

Shelling

Whether it is a barrel-bomb or a tank-shelling, the damage caused by explosives is often irreversible. Bombing historical sites is considered one of the worst military tactics used during the war, because it endangers the fabric of the building and eradicates the existing infrastructure which makes it very hard to recover once the conflict is concluded. Many Historical buildings were targeted with direct shelling or were caught in the middle of the fighting, which caused visible damage and, in some cases, (when repeated) destruction. Both World Heritage Sites Bosra and Krak des Chevaliers sustained damages due to direct shelling (Cunliffe 2012, pp.32-33).

Clashes and Army Occupation

Many archaeological sites were turned into battlefields as a result of the vicious clashes in their surroundings, militarization or military occupation of cultural heritage sites was frequently witnessed during the Syrian war. The damage caused by this occupation is not limited to turning the sites into a potential target during the fighting but extends into damaging the infrastructure of the sites. The battles were often fought with heavy weapons which were transferred into the historic sites and harmed their fragile foundations as a consequence as well as the uncontrolled digging and construction of defensive spots within the historic layers. In 2011, the Syrian army occupied many museums, ancient citadels and archaeological tells and transformed them into military bases from

Figure 5.2. *Syrian government forces gather at the entrance of Aleppo's historical citadel* (Joseph Eid 2012)

which the residential quarters were often shelled, especially in the case of Aleppo citadel, and the ones in Homs and Krak des Chevaliers (Ali 2013, p.354).

Looting and Terrorism

There is an inseparable link between terrorism activates and looting archaeological sites, illegal trafficking and terrorist financing. ISIS destructive campaign against humans and their history relies financially, to a great extent, on obtaining artifacts and selling the looted antiquates which could arguably go against the terrorist group's propagandistic ideology that those artifacts should be destroyed because they are heretical. Theft and trafficking of cultural objects in Syria received high attention on both national and international scale, but the details on the illicit market, the smuggling routes and who is trading the artifacts are still vague. Looting activities tend to be concentrated in Museums, mission houses and archaeological storage spaces, since the beginning of the conflict many thefts were reported in several museums, such as the Ma'ara Museum in the town of Ma'arat al-Nu'man in north-western Syria, where a large number of artifacts were stolen (Cunliffe 2012, p.12).

Many historic sites were targeted with the aim of destruction either to signal power or to serve a certain ideology: the destruction of some of Palmyra's most historic treasures like the Temple of Baalshamin, the Temple of Bel and the Arch of Triumph, are considered the most prominent

Figure 5.3 *Beheaded statues by ISIS in the Palmyra museum* (Joseph Eid 2016)

example of terrorist acts committed against historic sites in the country. On the destruction of Palmyra, Irina Bokova stated that: "such acts are war crimes and their perpetrators must be accountable for their actions" (UNESCO 2015).

Construction Violations and Temporary Human Occupation

Though temporary occupation and illegal construction of ancient sites existed before the conflict, it could be argued that the absence of government control and the shift of law application urgencies in some areas might have encouraged vast illegal construction practices to commence and grow. Uncontrolled development could be witnessed in the ancient city of Bosra which suffered many illicit building activities: "the residents found the right moment to push through illegal projects (construction in protected area), [and] it is difficult to assess today the extent of their illegal actions" (Cunliffe et al. 2016, p.16). The Dead Cities or the ancient villages of Northern Syria on the other hand had their share of violations, where groups of displaced civilians occupied the ancient ruins and turned them into human settlements.

Illegal Excavation

During conflicts illegal excavation of archaeological sites often occurs to generate resources and financial aids by the maverick looters that conduct them or by the different fighting groups. This

Figure 5.4 *The archaeological site of Dura-Europos before the war, 2011 (Left) and during the war, 2014 (Right) appears to show significant damage due to illegal excavations* (Getty images 2011 and 2014)

practice is treacherous because it is often carried out by local looters. This fact is particularly relevant in the Syrian case, where many ancient treasures are still unexcavated, in Syria several armed groups were involved in carrying out secret excavation in areas where the government and opposition forces do not have any control as in Mari, Ebla, and Dura-Europos. These excavations destroy vast areas of historic layers and obliterate centuries of human history, the ancient Greek and Roman site of Apamea was devastated entirely as a result of the illegal excavation (UNESCO 2017d). Notable that the damage has increased in recent years due to the modern equipment used during the process such as metal detectors and bulldozers.

The destruction of Syria's historic sites, religious buildings, museums and urban fabric is well documented, to date many reports have emerged which summarized the damages within those structures. The most notable report is the one conducted by the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution, and the Penn Cultural Heritage Centre established by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. The report adopted the usage of high-resolution satellite imagery which scanned Syria's World Heritage Sites and subsequently assessed their damages. According to the information and imagery in the report, five out of the six World Heritage sites 'exhibit significant damage' and many of their historic buildings are 'reduced to rubbles' (AAAS 2014). Susan Wolfinbarger, the

director of the Geospatial Technologies and Human Rights Project at the (AAAS), stated that (Quoted in Montgomery 2014):

> Aleppo is the worst case of all of the sites in terms of the extent and severity of the damage because of continuous bombardment. It is important to know that it is not occasional damage to Aleppo; it is ongoing and continuous. There is fighting on the ground across the whole city, many cases of barrel bombs being dropped on the city, and reports of tunnel bombs.

The damage and destruction levels of the ancient city of Aleppo were assessed and documented in a thorough report conducted by UNESCO and UNITAR, and released in December 2018. Before discussing the state of cultural heritage and the damage assessment within old Aleppo, and in accordance with the Burra Charter: it is necessary to gather as much information as possible to acquire a deep understanding of "the place: its history, use, associations, fabric" and all the aspects that make it significant (ICOMOS Australia 2013a, p.10).

This following part will provide an overview of the old city of Aleppo, and the physical evolution of its history; structure; heritage monuments and how its historic urban fabric, society and daily life activities are highly affected by the ongoing war. The work relies heavily on the available information obtained from primary and secondary sources, the primary sources used included existing literature and research as well as personal work conducted in the old city between 2007 and 2012, the secondary sources involved maps and photographs, satellite imagery as well as assembling interviews with several experts.

6 Section Six: Assessment of Aleppo's historic fabric

In his visit to Aleppo in 1184, the Andalusian Arab traveller, geographer and poet, Ibn Jubayr wrote (Quoted in Gonnella 2012):

> The city is as old as eternity, but still young, and it has never ceased to exist. Its days and nights have been long; it has survived its rulers and commoners. These are its houses and dwellings, but where are their former residents and the people who visited them? These are its palaces and chambers of court, but where are the Hamdanid princes and their poets? They have all passed away, but the city is still here. City of wonders! It endures. Its kings fall; they disappear, but its destruction has not been ordered.

One of the oldest inhabited cities in the world, Aleppo was the largest city in Syria (before the war) with an estimation of 2,132,100 inhabitants (2004 census), and was considered Syria's Industrial and financial capital. Throughout history the city sustained its role as an important trading centre on the silk road which passed through central Asia and Mesopotamia. Aleppo was known for its cultural, social and urban transformations which evolved during five thousand years, the city's strategic location amid the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and the Euphrates River contributed to its significance as a crossroad and one of the major trading hubs.

Aleppo has been concurred and ruled by Hittites, Assyrians, Arabs, Mongols, Mamelukes and Ottomans, the city's exceptional identity was prolonged through the compacted historic layers which belong to each period. Old Aleppo's layout underwent some alternations due to the tremendous pressure of population growth and the social, economic and cultural aspects associated with it.

6.1 Historical background

Excavations in the area underneath the citadel revealed a remaining "grid layout of street patterns" which indicates an existing ancient settlement that dates back to the "Hellenistic and Byzantine

Figure 6.1 *Aerial photograph of old Aleppo taken on 12 January 1936 by the thirty-ninth Regiment of the French Observation Aviation in the Levant* (Michel Écochard 1936)

periods." Later reports disclosed that it was until the Islamic period that these streets were transformed and converted into a "network of pedestrian alleys" (Bianca et al. 1980, p.11).

Extensive urban transformation and construction of marvellous monuments were the most prominent characteristics of the Islamic era in Aleppo. Starting with the Ayyubid period, which was marked with the highest attention paid to fortifications and increasing measurements of defence, the Mamelukes period afterwards, was known for focusing on arts and its allocation and development within the city as well as creating new neighbourhoods for expansion (Bianca et al. 1980). The Mongols invaded Aleppo in 1260 leaving its citadel in rubbles and killing many of its residents, the most notable consequence of the Mongols invasion was burning priceless manuscripts and archives of Muslim achievements and turn them into ashes (Gonnella 2008, p.18).

At the beginning of the Ottoman period during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Aleppo became an extremely significant city, as the heart of the Ottoman empire and a nod for connection on the silk road between the east and the west. "It was during this period that the city grew beyond the old city walls and new suburbs were attached to fit it." (Bianca et al. 1980, p.12). In 1822, an earthquake reduced Aleppo into a pile of ruins and had catastrophic toll on its once flourishing economy (Hitti 1961, p.14).

Aleppo's old city fabric covers immense historic layers within, as the city survived many invasions and national catastrophes, it is believed that its nowadays existing urban fabric was originated in the Ottoman period; however, many of its buildings date back to former times. Therefore, it is important to note that the significance of Aleppo cannot be reduced to one but more periods, and cannot be addressed in terms of a single historic monument but concerning the surrounding historic tissue and what it represents.

In order to understand the historic layers of the city and the urban evolution of Aleppo throughout the different periods, this part of the chapter analyses the work and maps developed by the French historian, Jean Sauvaget (1941). He examined the growth of the city of Aleppo and many of its monuments and settlements over six periods: Roman-Hellenistic, Byzantine, end of the 11th century, mid of the 13th century, beginning of the 16th and 19th centuries.

The Roman-Hellenistic Period (64 BC-395 AD)

Beroea was Aleppo's first known name given by the Seleucids to the city founded in northern Syria. As part of the Romans ruling which lasted for more than three centuries, its features were of those Roman-Hellenistic mono-directional with a matrix route and a straight major axis connecting the city's gates in the west (Antioch gate) with the citadel. In analysing the existing gridiron plan of Aleppo which displays an extension of the walls between the Antioch gate and the citadel, one can trace the impact of the Hellenistic period on the city. Beroea's walls were constructed along seven gates connecting the southern and northern parts with the citadel, and expanding to include the western side of the city as well. The evidence of Aleppo's transformation of urban structure within the Roman period in limited but was thought to have a rectangular grid plan as shown in the map: the hill (A); the highest point: the Citadel (B); and the Principal Temple (C).

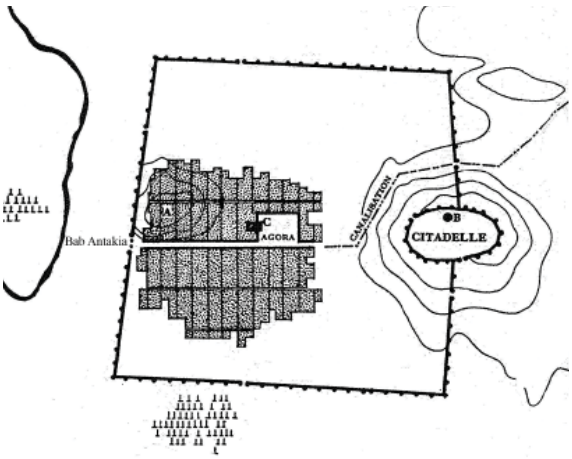

Figure 6.*2 Map of the city in the Hellenistic period*
(Jean Sauvaget 1941)

The Byzantine Period (395- 636 AD)

During the Byzantine period, the expansion of the city and its settlements which was regular evolved into a more organic structure. The Principal Temple is now a cathedral (A); a new church named Forty Martyrs was constructed outside the city walls (B); two Jewish synagogues were built within the Jewish quarters (C, D); the establishment of new residential districts: al-Asfaris (A), Bahsita (B), Djalloum (D), and Farafra (F).

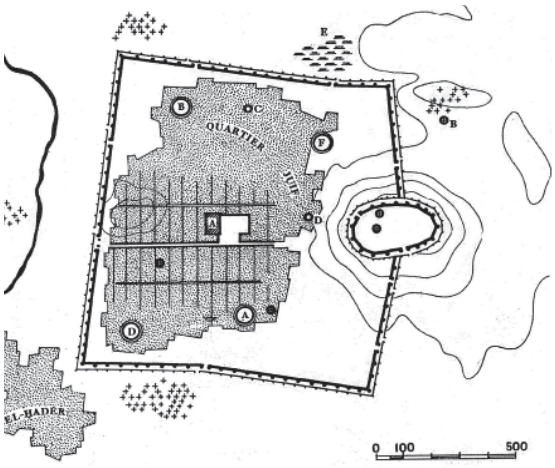

Figure 6.3 *Map of the city in the Byzantine period* (Jean Sauvaget 1941)

The Umayyad, Abbasid and Hamdanid dynasty (end of the 11th Century)

The city flourished during the Islamic period: a new network of narrow alleys and secondary roads were planned as Aleppo started to obtain the characters of a typical Islamic city: the patterns of the

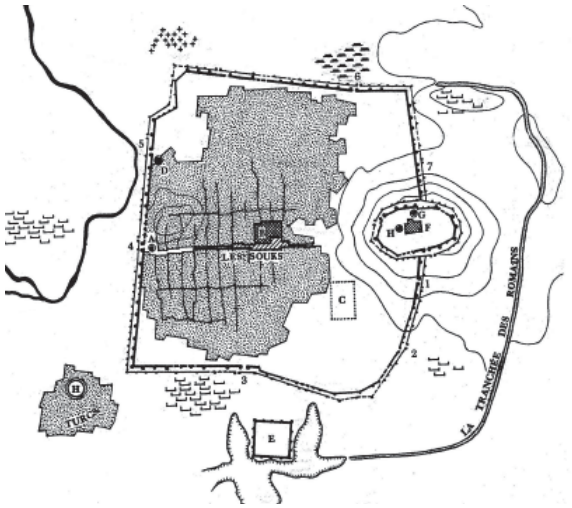

Figure 6.4 *Map of the city at the end of the 11th century* (Jean Sauvaget 1941)

roads were not regular anymore but more organic and integrated into the overall districts. The city walls were remodelled and fortified to demonstrate more strength and new districts kept surfacing within the city walls, except for one, the district of Qastal Sharif (E) The map shows a new mosque within the walls which is the most ancient Arab building in the city al-Omari mosque (A); on the location of the agora is the new Great Mosque (B); Antioch Gate (4); and Jinan Gate (5); the church of the citadel was replaced by two mosques (G, H); with an open area for prayers (C); the markets near the gate (D); and the citadel was appointed as a palace for governing (F).

Seleucids, Crusaders, Zangid dynasty and Ayyubid dynasty (the middle of the 13th Century)

In this period, the districts of the city expanded to reach the external walls in the west, and soon after the attack of both the Crusaders and the Mongols, new settlements outside the city walls appeared on the map, most notable were the Jewish district (J); the Turkoman quarter (T); the soap factories (S); and the tannery (D). The urban expansion outside the walls and the new areas became highly significant during that period and included the souks area; many important public buildings, mosques and Madrasas; and soon this area became the city's cultural, economic and religious hub.

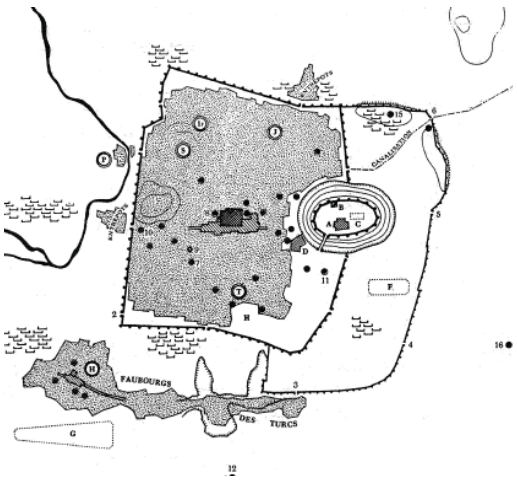

Figure 6.5 *Map of the city at the middle of the 13th century* (Jean Sauvaget 1941)

Mamelukes dynasty (the beginning of the 16th Century)

Aleppo was left in ruins as a result of the Mongols attack in 1260 and severely damaged after Tamerlane invasion in 1400. The Mamluks focused during their ruling on restoring what is left of the city, as well as providing the new districts outside the walls with public services. The map shows: east of the citadel, a specialized market for horses was founded (D); this period is known for the extensive construction of Khans or caravanserai such as the Venetian caravanserai (E); a specialized market for business activities was constructed in Bab al-Hadid (A); the market for spindle manufacturing (H); the palace of governing remained within the citadel (A); and the district for Persian merchants was installed in the east (P).

The Ottoman Empire (the 19th Century)

This period is marked with the expansion of both urban settlements and streets network northern of the city until Bab al-Nasr Gate, many roads were established to connect this newly-emerged area with the city centre. Aleppo witnessed a major transformation during the Ottoman ruling: the city walls lost their defensive function and the suburbs surrounding the city expanded

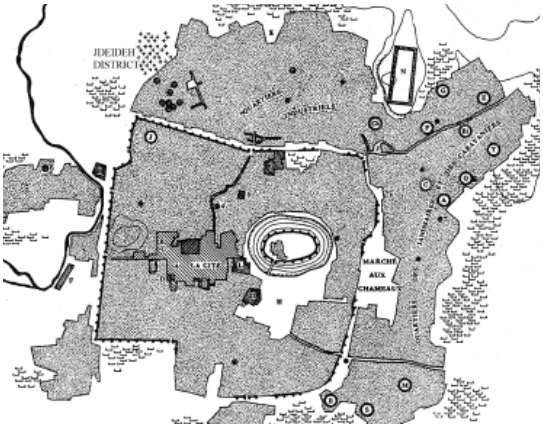

Figure 6.6 *Map of the city at end of the 19th century* (Jean Sauvaget 1941)

to a greater extent. There has been an extensive construction of buildings for public services and religious purposes like mosques and Madrasas.

6.1.1 Old Aleppo and the traditional structure

Aleppo has typical characteristics of an Islamic Middle Eastern city which overlaid the former Roman city with its gridiron plan, the major roads lead to the other narrow alleys cutting through the old city and connecting like vessels. Aleppo under the Romans was a city of a rectangular formation, which transformed as a result of the organic expansion of settlements in the early 19th century into a radio-centric city, with the citadel in its central point. The city grew and expanded to the east and the north where the commercial and residential activities were focused, while the growth to the west was constrained with the existing Queiq river, and to the south where the areas were occupied with cemeteries and not suitable for residing (Kostof 1991, passim; Bianca 2000).

Aleppo's urban fabric is highly dense, the narrow alleys are paved with cobblestones and are made only for pedestrians and in some exceptional cases small vehicles. The 'souk' area and the surrounding residential districts were merged peacefully with the irregular street patterns. The road system and the small alleys formed a heterogeneous identity of the city. When examining the significant components of the old city of Aleppo, the focus shifts immediately to the famous al-Madina souk: located at the centre of the old city it covers an area of 750 meters long and 300 meters wide. The souk is considered the main covered commercial centre in the city, and extends between the footing of the citadel and the 'Antioch Gate.' It has been suggested that the souk was constructed along the historic axis connecting the east and the west of the former Hellenistic city. Parallel to the al-Madina souk and in a perpendicular order, one can trace several covered alleys with many small shops, where various commercial activities take place according to their type. Those tiny-facade shops are often appended with big storage space within a special building designated for storing goods. The building could enclose other activities and might be used as a Madrasa, Khan, Hammam, etc. (Bianca et al. 1980, pp.12-5).

Those buildings, often used as caravanserais, can be accessed through the alleys where their entrances are located between the small shops. It is important to note that those alleys formed a vital network that connected the old main gates with the central area of the old city, and enabled a

Figure 6.7 *The old city of Aleppo and its citadel* (Frederic Soltan 1993)

quiet movement within the historic quarters and their surrounding buffer zone areas. The organic structure of the old city made it possible to locate most of the Hammams and mosques where the narrow alleys within the residential areas, met with the major streets, it is as if those connecting nods were created to serve those who inhabited old Aleppo. The network of roads within the residential quarters was so advanced in its hierarchy, moving from public to semi-private and private through the passages dedicated for pedestrians ensured a smooth movement: from the main wide road into a secondary street that branches into the narrow alleys leading to the different housing zones. To ensure their privacy, the alleys were often enclosed with an external block-walls that do not expose the inner part of the dwelling. Aleppo, Syria's economic capital, was known for the multi-ethnic and multi-religious communities that inhabited the city and created a unique homogenous atmosphere and identity as a centre for international trading and living. Nonetheless, the residential areas within the old part of Aleppo had several outlines and were distributed based on ethnic and religious origins; type of profession and in some cases one's social class was also considered. The division of population within the old city became evident in the 18th century when the Muslim families inhabited the al- Farafra district and the wealthy Christians occupied the al-Jdaideh quarter where many churches existed (Bianca et al. 1980, p.14).

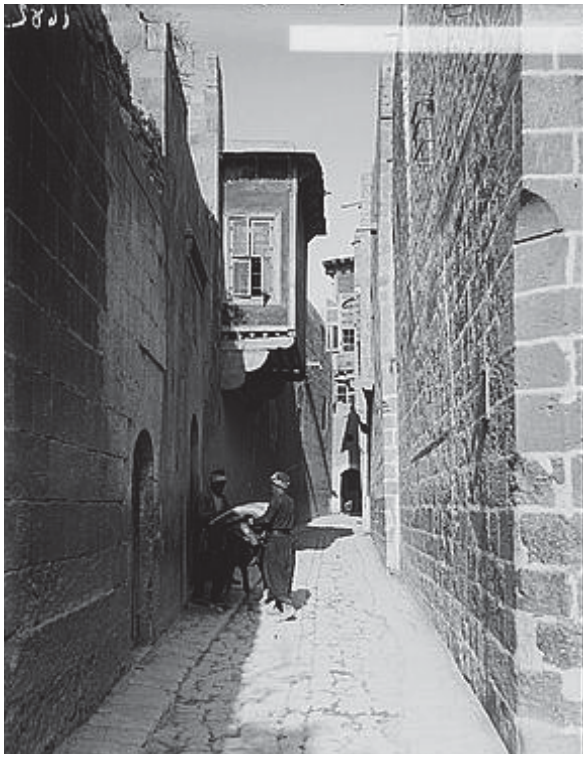

Figure 6.8 *A typical street in old Aleppo* (American Colony Photo Dept., approximately 1900 to 1920)

Figure 6.9 *A narrow street within the old quarters* (American Colony Photo Dept. 1936)

When analysing Aleppo's urban form as an Islamic city, its cluster of courtyard houses and their typology become the most prominent component. The notion of outside-inside adopted within those houses, imitate the public-private concept found in the surrounding passages system. The traditional courtyard houses of Aleppo are construed with stones, with a flat rooftop made of woods or a domed ceiling of sandstones. The inner courtyard is located in the heart of the house and could be overlooked from any room among those allocated around it, from two, three and in some cases four sides. Distributed on two levels, the houses had complete closure to the outside, except for some small openings in the external walls. While the rooms within the house often faced either the courtyard or the patio for ventilation and light, the entrance is connected by a small passage with the courtyard and is frequently paved with flagstones. Those houses were known for fitting Syria's semi-rigid climate, as well as their design which guaranteed privacy and enclosure which the inhabitants of the old city valued extremely (Bianca et al. 1980, pp.15-6; Abu-Lughod, 1987).

The traditional houses were distinguished in design and decoration according to the social class, income and profession of the owner. When the owner was rich, his house often consisted of two, and sometimes three inner courtyards with marble-cobbled fountains in their centre. This type of

Figure 6.10 *A view of the old city of Aleppo taken from the citadel* (Library of Congress, between 1898 and 1946)

houses was famous for the big guests' rooms and the "T-shaped reception rooms (Qa'a) and Iwans of large dimensions, while patios are decorated with fountains (Salsabils), flowers and marble marquetry" (Bianca et al. 1980, p.16). Located next to each other, those traditional houses created an organic structure within old Aleppo. It can be said that the residential quarters were ethnically and religiously classified, and even designed to reflect and be the "irregular cul-de-sac pattern; dense building marked by houses with inner courtyards" (Kunzendorf and Attfield 2010, p.101).

6.1.2 Aleppo in the twentieth century

Even though the focus of this research is old Aleppo as an ancient oriental city and its boundaries, one cannot ignore the other inseparable face of Aleppo as an evolving modern settlement. The development and growth of Aleppo were unregulated and caused serious damage to its organic formation and identity, to fully grasp Aleppo's historic evolution, one has to briefly examine the layers that compacted to formulate the city as it is.

The inhabited districts, which emerged in the northern and eastern parts of old Aleppo had a dominated cul-de-sac form and were religiously and ethnically divided; however, this pattern started to shift into a more modern form as one moved out of the old boundaries. Plans were made for the areas north-east of the ancient city, outside the city walls with no respect to the identity of

the historic districts; wide street-networks were established and; modern buildings with modern activities: shops, restaurants, hotels, etc. were constructed echoing the European cities model in their modernity of activities, material and occupation. It is important to note that, those areas were not entirely new with their urban forms as they included many historic buildings that date back to 1890 and 1930, which were inhabited by the Christian minority after their resettlement out of the ancient city borders. Aleppo grew immensely and irregularly since 1945, new social and spatial structures were introduced replacing many of its traditional zones, especially in the cases where new building installations were necessary to fill in the gaps resulting of creating new highways, between existing historic buildings. It seemed as the city was being modernized but unfortunately neither the new buildings, nor the new streets, parking areas or spaces were carefully planned especially in the west part of the old city. The city outgrew new suburbs with a new residential identity, in which inhabitants from multiple ethnic, social class and religious backgrounds lived in harmony (Kunzendorf and Attfield 2010).

During the years of French Mandate in Syria, special attention was paid to developing new plans aiming to regulate the modern expansion of Aleppo; many architects and planners were assigned to create more fixed planning forms, which include the whole city. However, their established plans did not have a major impact on the old city, it was until 1954 when plans were developed by the French urban planner André Gutton, which altered the historic fabric of the ancient city and its expansion drastically. Gutton's master plan for Aleppo arguably aimed to adjust the growth of the city in a more formal way up to 1975, but it was notable that the organic fabric of the old city was not taken into consideration and that the main focus was on boosting Aleppo's economic position (David and Hreitani 2005, pp.98-100).

The plan was simple: two major east-west wide axes were to parallelly break through Aleppo's old city, in order to connect the main highway of the capital Damascus with that one in Raqqa; another axis was placed to cross between the Umayyad Mosque and the northern part of the city outside the walls to the al-Jdaideh district; two ring roads were to cover the historic districts on the one hand, and the souks area on the other hand. Luckily the masterplan was not fully implemented, but its partial implementation especially with the ring and axial roads, still managed to cause serious damage to one-tenth of the ancient fabric where entire historic neighbourhoods were destroyed and many historic buildings reduced into rubbles and replaced with multi-stories high buildings, on both sides of the newly established roads (Windelberg et al. 2001, p.7). As a result, "the old city was divided both in the intramural and the extramuros into islands separated by wide streets and

high-risebuildings developed according to a building code totally alien to the building practices of the traditional city" (GTZ 1992, pp.6-7).

In 1963, the Syrian Antiquities Law No.222 concerning the protection of cultural heritage was passed, between 1968 and 1974, up to 160 buildings and souks area as historic monuments were declared by the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums and included both buildings and market areas. Gutton's master plan was followed by several other plans, which considered the preservation of the organic tissue of the old city, especially the master plan between 1968 and 1974 developed by the Japanese urban planner, Gyoji Banshoya; who sought to limit the impacts of Gutton's plan and proposed a set of strategies to protect the historic fabric within the old city boundaries. Banshoya's plan revolved around stopping the activities from widening the streets and providing a limited vehicle access into the old city by creating dead-end alleys, in his guidelines he identified two levels of urban fabric: "a protected centre and a zone where changes were authorized, following certain rules and after inspection by the authorities" (UNESCO and UNITAR 2018, pp.15-6).

It is important to state that Banshoya's plan did not cancel the establishment of the east-west axes, on the contrary it planned a new north-south axis, which put the old city fabric under catastrophic aftermaths when implemented; the additional axis "would have cut through the historic fabric, demolished more monuments and further segregated the historic quarters from each other." The partial execution of many master plans caused severe damages to the old city and its historic fabric, several public and private initiatives joined forces to stop the implementation of Banshoya's plan, and; thus, led the Syrian General Directorate of Antiquities to halt its implementation in 1979 and to declaring the whole old city intramural as a historic area of national importance in 1976 (Khirfan 2014, p.19).

This decision, as well as putting Law No.222 in motion had great impacts to cancel the demolition of many buildings and regulate the interventions within the old city borders. An old city conservation committee was established to supervise the implementation of the new protection guidelines; as a result, demolition of buildings was prohibited and the restoration activities were to be carried out under the committees' control. In 1978 and until 1985 new neighbourhoods were added to the old city's boundaries including some pre-nineteenth century districts. In 1986, the old city of Aleppo was declared a UNESCO World Heritage property (UNESCO and UNITAR 2018, p.16).

Soon after its inscription, the Syrian government requested support from the German government to carry out conservation projects within the old city borders. In 1992, a rehabilitation project to upgrade the living conditions in certain areas of the old city was announced. The new project promoted conservation activities to preserve the historic quarters as well as sustaining their residential identity, the project aimed to "promote social and economic development, and improve housing and living conditions within the old city. [And to] Preserve the urban fabric and functional pattern where it is unique and valuable according to its character and structure" (Windelberg et al. 2001, p.16).

National and international organizations and institutions as well as multiple stakeholders, worked hand in hand to draft the rehabilitation project of the old city in 1993, those initiatives included: the Directorate of the Old City (DOC), which was established in 1992; the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFSED), that took responsibility for organizing human capacity resources, as well as the funds needed for the urban and social studies, and later carried the development project of the Great Mosque area; the German Agency for Technical Cooperation (GTZ), which was the major partner in this rehabilitation project; and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) that executed the restoration work in the citadel and funded the projects to elevate its surrounding areas (GTZ 1992).

6.2 Aleppo's inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List

In 1980, UNESCO organized a team of experts led by the Swiss architectural historian and urban designer Stefano Bianca to research the old city of Aleppo. The work of those experts focused on producing a recommendation report on how to handle the issues that arose from partially implementing both Gutton and Banshoya's masterplans, with the concentration on managing the traffic and the damage it caused to the historic fabric (Khirfan 2014, p.19).

The report criticized the masterplans and their impacts, which resulted in isolating the monuments within the old city by creating those huge axes: "the clash has resulted in partial destruction of the historic quarters, due to the opening of new roads for vehicular traffic through the traditional texture, and corresponding redevelopment pressures" (Bianca et al. 1980, p.8). In its opening statement the report emphasized that (Bianca et al. 1980, p.6):

> Experience has shown that the individual monuments should not be isolated from the urban context to which they are related. This is particularly true in the case of Islamic towns, where each single

> element is usually integrated into larger units of the urban fabric in such a way as to form a complex, closely knit architectural cluster. Conserving the monuments of an Islamic town therefore also implies the protection and reinforcement of the urban pattern as a whole.

The report emphasized that several districts within the old city were mainly unaltered "most of the old quarters prior to 1850 still exist. They still cover a surface of 400 hectares i.e. 22% of the built-up area, and at the last census in 1970, they contained 173,000 inhabitants." The old city according to the report contains the quarters inside the walls and the newly expanded neighbourhoods surrounding them, with more than ten thousand courtyard houses and 240 classified historical monuments (Bianca et al. 1980, p.24).

With the support of the early statements, and in spite of the suggestion that the old city should be recognized as a historic fabric, Aleppo's old city was inscribed on the World Heritage list (Annex 2) with clear distinction of its fragmented monuments under the following criteria (UNESCO 2016c) criterion (iii):

> The old city of Aleppo reflects the rich and diverse cultures of its successive occupants. Many periods of history have left their influence in the architectural fabric of the city. Remains of Hittite, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ayyubid structures and elements are incorporated in the massive surviving Citadel. The diverse mixture of buildings including the Great Mosque founded under the Umayyads and rebuilt in the 12th century; the 12th century Madrasa Halawiye, which incorporates remains of Aleppo's Christian cathedral, together with other mosques and madrasas, suqs and khans represents an exceptional reflection of the social, cultural and economic aspects of what was once one of the richest cities of all humanity.

Concurrently, criterion (iv) specified that:

> Aleppo is an outstanding example of an Ayyubid 12th century city with its military fortifications constructed as its focal point following the success of Salah El-Din against the Crusaders. The encircling ditch and defensive wall above a massive, sloping, stone-faced glacis, and the great gateway with its machicolations comprise a major ensemble of military architecture at the height of Arab dominance. Works of the 13th/14th centuries including the great towers and the stone entry bridge reinforce the architectural quality of this ensemble. Surrounding the citadel within the city are numerous mosques from the same period including the Madrasah al Firdows, constructed by Daifa Khatoun in 1235.

Figure 6.11 *Monuments distribution in the old city of Aleppo* (GTZ 1992)

Based on these two criteria, the statement of outstanding universal value included: "the Citadel, the 12th century Great Mosque and various 16th and 17th centuries madrasas, residences, khans and public baths, all form part of the city's cohesive, unique urban fabric."

Bianca's report, which signalled the UNESCO inscription, stipulates more elements into the city's significance that was not included in the statement of outstanding universal value adopted by UNESCO (Bianca et al. 1980, p.8):

> For centuries, Aleppo held its place among the most important cultural and commercial centres of the Middle East. […] Aleppo is considered as one of the most significant historic towns of the Islamic world. Buildings such as the Citadel, the souks, the khans, and a number of mosques, madrasahs and social welfare buildings are acknowledged as key monuments of Islamic architecture. The residential quarters intra muros, the suburbs of Jdeide with their superb private houses, and

> the historic fabric as a whole, through their environmental qualities, represent a living cultural heritage of great value.

According to Khirfan, both statements neglected to mention many elements of Aleppo's unique identity, which include: "the path network, the residential districts, the major nodes and the city's edges." In her argument, she mentions that Aleppo's statement of outstanding universal value "offered a museum-like perception of Aleppo's historic landscape from, which conspicuously absent were Aleppo's historic and contemporary socio-economic, cultural and political conditions that had contributed to shaping it in its current form" (2014, pp.48-9).

Drawing on the former argument, one could conclude that Aleppo's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List overlooked the city's distinctive character; disregarded the residents' perspective; and contributed into creating an isolated island of historic monuments. This division between the buildings and the historic fabric was further deepened through the rehabilitation project in 1992, which focused on several monuments, rather than approaching the ancient city as an inseparable unit.

It must be noted that the old city of Aleppo was well-documented prior to the conflict as a result of the rehabilitation project and the involvement of many experts. Large areas were renovated in an exemplary manner, and with the participation of the inhabitants, thus, these experiences could also provide important insights for the current situation.

6.3 Aleppo and the current conflict

The conflict reached Aleppo in mid-July 2012 as part of the battle to 'liberate northern Syria,' which was initiated by the rebels earlier that month. In a matter of weeks, the combat reached the old city of Aleppo, which was turned into the major battleground for the civil war (BBC 28/04/2014). The battle of Aleppo was described to include "heavy fighting, widespread shelling by tanks and artillery, and numerous civilian casualties" (AAAS 2014).

The fighting between the regime and the opposition forces spread across Aleppo, and roughly divided the city in into a government-held west and a rebel-held east. The battle was marked by the excessive use of violence, aerial shelling against residential areas and civilians, mostly by the regime's air-forces and its allies (Fisher 2016). The war damages in west Aleppo are minimal compared to those in the east side of the city where barrel bombs and aerial strikes were utilized to

wipe complete neighbourhoods, it was estimated that "40% of eastern Aleppo has been damaged or destroyed" (Chulov 2015). The fighting, which lasted for more than four years is considered one of the longest sieges during contemporary conflicts, and was concluded when the city fell to the Syrian regime in late 2016 (Spencer 2012).

The official website of 'Violations Documentation Centre in Syria'; a network of Syrian activists working to document human rights violations committed during the conflict, estimated the number of casualties during the Aleppo battle between 19 July 2012 and 22 December 2016, at 31.273 dead people, with a ratio of 76% of civilian deaths (Violations Documentation Centre in Syria 2016).

Hundreds of thousands of Aleppo's residents were forced to flee their homes due to the ongoing clashes, according to UN-Habitat (2014, p.3):

> It is estimated that 1.72 million inhabitants have been displaced by Nov. 2013; 53% of whom fled the Governorate (mainly to Syrian coastal cities and to neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan). Another 48% have been displaced within Aleppo.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Filippo Grandi stated that "Aleppo has become a metaphor for the disastrous situation that Syria is in today, with half the population having been forced from their homes" (UNHCR 17/12/2016). According to the World Population Review, the city's population has dropped to reach 1,834,093 in the latest estimation on 21 January 2019.

The deadly battle of Aleppo ravaged the city and caused huge destruction to its urban structure, the Aleppo City Assessment Report released in March 2013, estimated the damages as follows (IRIN 2013, p.20):

> 52 neighbourhoods, more than half of all private buildings (including apartment buildings) are damaged or destroyed. About 25 percent of all private buildings are heavily damaged or totally destroyed (unrepairable damages). About two-thirds of public infrastructure in the assessed 52 neighbourhoods is reportedly damaged or destroyed, including schools, health facilities, and other public buildings. About 10% is reported as totally destroyed.

It should be noted that the latest assessment for the damages within Aleppo was conducted in 2013, and that the causalities have worsened since especially in the eastern part of the city, but there has not been an updated report on the current situation.

6.3.1 The conflict and old Aleppo

As a result of the heavy clashes, most of the old city's inhabitants were forced to abandon their homes and relocate somewhere else in the city or even outside it. It was estimated that the population of the old city has dropped drastically from "586.000 to 146.000" at the end of 2013 (UN-Habitat 2014, p.11). As was reported in 2014, 121 cultural assets within the old city were "totally or partially destroyed, burned, or looted;" however, the numbers were not entirely accurate since many of the neighbourhoods were not accessible (UN-Habitat 2014, p.12).

The numbers have increased and the damages were further documented and released within the report of UNESCO and UNITAR (2018, p.29): "Up to 723 cultural properties which include mosques, churches, souks, khans and houses within the ancient city were completely destroyed; 2,168 Severely damaged; 2,287 Moderately damaged; 624 Possibly damaged."

The satellite imagery revealed significant damages to cultural heritage within the World Heritage Property, 210 cultural structures were examined and included "the citadel, city walls and gates, 73 historic buildings, 83 religious buildings, the National Museum, and the souks." 104 historic structures sustained visible damages: "roughly a fifth of the sites are completely destroyed [...] the area to the east and southeast of the citadel towards Bab Antakya is the most affected [...] large parts of this area are no longer present" (UNOSAT 2014, p.18). UNESCO and UNITAR report, stated that (2018, p.135):

> More than 1,400 plots were assessed, with almost 1,000 individual damage points recorded. Among these 518 cadastral plotted buildings, damage levels were identified as follows: 56 destroyed, 82 severely damaged[12], 270 moderately damaged, 20 possibly damaged, and 8 with no visible damage. Thirty-seven cadastral plotted buildings could not be identified and 22 were assessed as part of other plots.

6.3.2 The old city of Aleppo: its monuments and damage assessment

The Citadel

Situated in the heart of the old city, the monumental medieval citadel of Aleppo is considered one of the most ancient, gigantic castles in the world, and the city's most prominent historic icon. The

[12] "This number excludes the 23 cadastral plotted buildings destroyed before the conflict within the partial implementation of the previous master plans" (UNESCO and UNITAR 2018, p.135).

Figure 6.12 *The citadel's high walls and gateway* (WMF 2002)

construction of the citadel demonstrates a clear example of Islamic military architecture, which survived many natural and human-made disasters over several centuries. The citadel was considered one of the main tourist destinations and the historic building, which the residents of the city felt most proud of (Ball 2007).

Historical background

Dominating Aleppo in its centre on a natural rising-hill, the citadel was the city's martial and sacred core since its construction between the 12th and 14th century. It was suggested that the majority of its remaining structure dates back to the Ayyubid era. However, the citadel comprises in its historic layers' testimonies of several ancient civilizations which go all the way to the 10th century B.C and includes remains of the Temple of the Storm God which date to the Early Bronze Age (3300-2200 B.C.) as well as traces of the Roman and Byzantine Empire; the dynasties of Ayyubid, Mamelukes and the Ottoman Empire (UNESCO 2016c).

Soon after the conquest of Alexander the Great, Aleppo was handed to his infantry general Seleucus I Nicator who is considered the founder of the Seleucid dynasty. Aleppo which was then known as Beroea, flourished during his ruling period and was sustained by fortifying the Acropolis (Gaube 2007, pp.73-4). The citadel kept its religious prominence during the Roman Empire which defeated the Seleucids in 64 BC. The city was afterwards ruled and fortified by the Byzantines who constructed two churches on the citadel's hill. Documents revealed that the citadel was repaired after an earthquake around 636 AD. when it was ruled by the Umayyad and Abbasid empires, the citadel did not have major alternations during their ruling (Gonnella 2008, pp.12-3).

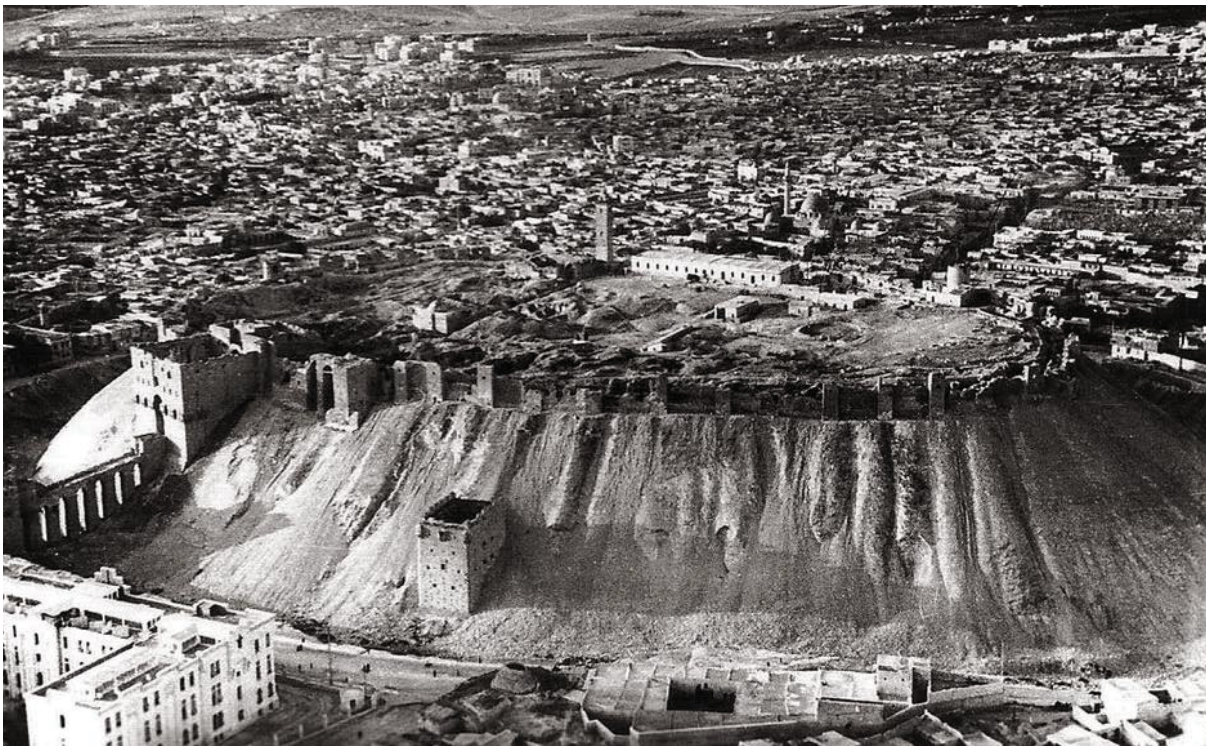

Figure 6.13 *The citadel and the structure of the ancient city* (Michel Écochard 1930's)

With the Crusades expeditions to the East, the citadel gained the highest significance, especially during the period of the Zangid dynasty. Nur ad-Din Zangi who ruled between (1146-1173), contributed to making the citadel extremely important: he unified and fortified both Damascus and Aleppo against the attacks of the Crusaders. Nur ad-Din ordered the reconstruction of the city walls in Aleppo and to secure its castle, sources suggest that many parts of the citadel were added and modified during his era, including the small mosque and the Hammam in its south (Gonnella 2008, p.15).

The citadel reached another peak under the Ayyubids ruling, the period of az-Zaher Ghazi (ruled 1186-1216) in particular witnessed great advancements when new parts for fortification were constructed such as the walls and the towers. It is believed that the existing construction of the citadel was originated by his orders and had maintained its authenticity. The citadel had a shift in its function during the 13th century when it became a city of its own: it included several mosques and shrines which turned it into a sacred destination for spiritual practices; had multiple palaces and baths for the royal family that inhabited it. However, it did not lose its martial position with the existing defence towers and the army training on its ground; lastly it became a source for food supplies and provided tanks of water to Aleppo. With the Mongols invasion in 1260 to destroy the Ayyubid dynasty in Damascus and Aleppo, the citadel was heavily damaged and most of its

structure was destroyed. The Mamelukes later on aimed to fortify the citadel, they rebuilt many of its wrecked parts and constructed the Throne Hall. Around 1400 the citadel was devastated against as a result of another Mongol invasion, and was restored by 1415 (Gonnella 2008, pp.14-9).

Under the Ottoman empire, the martial position of the citadel as a fortress diminished and was used as a base for soldiers, barracks, windmill and some dwellings were added in that period. In 1822, the citadel was heavily damaged by another earthquake, but was rebuilt in 1850. At the beginning of the 20th century archaeological excavations and documentation work of the citadel's history were carried out along with the excessive restoration of many parts of its structure (Gonnella 2008, pp.24-5).

Damage in the current conflict

It could be argued that the location of the citadel at the centre of old Aleppo is what caused it some harms, but the truth is its location played a minor role in targeting it with the aim of destruction. While there is lack of any credible reports explaining why the citadel was targeted and more than once, one could argue that the army-occupation of the citadel with heavy weaponry, and transforming it into a military base turned it into a potential target to the armed militias which in turn damaged it to a considerable level. In August 2012, in the middle of what was known as 'the Aleppo battle,' the forces of the Syrian Free Army reached the eastern walls of the citadel and imposed control on many historic buildings adjacent to it. Who controls the citadel controls the city was one of the most popular slogans of that battle (Steele 2015).

The Free Army attempted to capture the citadel and the battle was fought with shells that rained over the main gate causing damage to the medieval iron doors. Pictures surfacing from the site suggested that the defensive towers and walls were hit and harmed to some extent. It was reported that the Temple to the Storm God was targeted by shells and its roof which was constructed in 2005 has collapsed entirely (UNOSAT 2014, p.23). The latest report of damage assessment of the old city and its monuments states that (UNESCO and UNITAR 2018, p.35):

> Although individual structures within the Citadel are heavily damaged, given the site's scale, the overall damage is categorized as moderate. [...] a total of 31 affected historic buildings/areas,

Figure 6.14 *Destruction of the citadel and its surrounding* (Sultan Kitaz 2015)

including 3 modern buildings, of which 1 is destroyed, 3 are severely damaged, 21 are moderately damaged, and 6 have sustained possible damage as of 20 January 2017. However, within this assessment, and although the overall damage to the walls is less than 40 per cent and so classed as moderate, the towers and wall around them in two locations have been destroyed and several of the towers have sustained heavy damage.

The Great Umayyad Mosque

Constructed in 715 AD. the Great Mosque of Aleppo is the city's largest mosque and one of the oldest in the world. The mosque is considered one of Aleppo's major historic monuments with its existing structure which was originated in the 12th century. The marble-paved courtyard was one of the most prominent components of the mosque: it connects its different parts and includes a sundial and two ablution fountains. In the southern section of the courtyard is the main prayer hall with the mosque's most significant elements: the shrine of Zachariah; impressive Mihrab and a Minbar (Tabaa 1997).

Historical background

Over a span of several centuries, the spiritual and religious function of this place of worship has been altered drastically, which contributed to the overall value of the monument: firstly, a Roman

Figure 6.15 *The Umayyad mosque as seen the in an early twentieth-century photograph* (The Aga Khan Trust for Culture 2008)

Figure 6.16 *An old picture of the court of the Umayyad Mosque* (Library of Congress, approximately 1900 to 1920)

Temple; then a Byzantine Cathedral on top of the Hellenistic-Roman city's agora; and lastly the prominent Great Mosque (UNOSAT 2014, p.22).

By order of the Umayyad Caliph then al-Walid (ruled 705-715), the construction of the mosque was initiated in 715 AD. only to be completed at the time of Caliph Sulayman ruled between (715-717) who succeeded his brother and finalized the building of the mosque in 717 AD. (Talas 1957). The mosque witnessed several catastrophic events ranging from natural disasters like an earthquake, all the way to deliberately burning his structure. One of the most tragic events concerning the mosque's history was the Abbasids' invasion, which left the structure of the mosque in a critical condition after being damaged to a great extent as a hostile reaction against the Umayyad Caliphate and their legacy (Al-Ghazzi 1952).

Under the Seljuk Empire ruling at the end of the 11th century, the mosque was resorted and its most unique minaret was constructed around 1090 AD. with 45m high and impressive Kufic inscriptions. The unfortunate event of blaze consumed the Umayyad's structure of the mosque in 1158 AD. only to be rebuilt again by Nur ad-Din Zangi. The construction of the Great Mosque was to replace the remains of a cemetery that belonged to the neglected Saint Helena church, which

Figure 6.17 *The Umayyad Mosque as seen from the citadel* (Brandt Maxwell 2010)

replaced a Roman Temple on the same spot. The location of the mosque at the heart of the city was not randomly chosen, but more of a clear demonstration of this monument's religious, cultural and even social significance, as well as reflecting the Muslim's ultimate control over the city and its sites (Mitchell 1978, p.231).

As part of the Mongol's plan to destroy the city, the mosque was razed in 1260 AD (Grousset 1991, p.362). In 1280 AD. a destructive fire burnt the mosque's structure and most of the restoration work done by the Ayyubids, miraculously the minaret survived and was not damaged (Tabaa 1997). The Mamelukes then restored parts of the mosque's original structure and added many elements and decorations. Sultan Qalawun ordered the burnt mihrab to be restored, and a new roof to be rebuilt in 1285, while the significant minbar was constructed by orders of Sultan al-Nasir Mohammed (ruled 1293-1341). The gate of the main prayer hall was constructed under the Ottomans in 1630, and in 1632 the pavement of the courtyard was done using black, yellow and white marble pieces (UNESCO and UNITAR 2018, p.59).

The mosque played an essential role in the old city's inhabitants' daily-life; its unique location near the ancient market made it the preferred mosque for most of the merchants in which they attended the daily prayers. Its significance was not limited to its religious importance but exceeded it to become a place to host social events and activities; and a great tourist-attraction with hundreds of

Figure 6.18 *The Umayyad Mosque 2012* by Alamy (above) and in 2013 by Corbis (below)

Figure 6.19 *The damage of the Umayyad Mosque after the fire* (BBC 2012)

visitors daily. The old city rehabilitation project resulted in renovating the minaret and the courtyard of the mosque, as well as a garden adjacent to the mosque in 2003. This led to boosting its importance for both the locals and the tourists. In 2005, the al-Waqfiya Library was established under the garden in the northern part to include hundreds of valuable ancient Islamic books and manuscripts.

Damage in the current conflict

Due to the heavy clashes between the regime's forces and the opposition fighters to seize the building, the mosque endured some of the worst damages done to a monument within the old city. The 11th century minaret collapsed and turned into a pile of stones during fighting in April 2013, soon after the tragic incident accusations were made by the armed groups against each other on who was responsible for it. The stories vary according to their narrator: the Syrian regime claims that the rebels blew the minaret up, and the counter-argument indicates that the government targeted it with a tank shell, the true story remains vague (BBC 24/04/2013).

In September 2012, an enormous fire broke out in the Souk right next to the mosque causing its eastern side to burn and consumed hundreds of the rare Islamic manuscripts in the library which

Figure 6.20 *The ancient covered souk before the war* (James Gordon 2009)

collapsed on itself soon after. The courtyard was partially destroyed while the garden in the north sustained some damages (Weaver 2012).

In 2013, an opposition fighting militia announced its responsibly for deconstructing the magnificent wooden Mamelukes minbar and claimed to have transported and stored it in a safe area (DGAM 2014, p.7). In the report on the Damage Assessment to Historical Sites in Syria, more details were revealed (UNOSAT 2014, p.22):

> There appears to be severe damage to the eastern outer wall, the southern part of the eastern gallery, and the northeast corner of the northern gallery. It was destroyed by the same fire which ravaged the rest of the gallery and destroyed the library in 2013. In addition, the marble-tiled courtyard has been partially destroyed. Lastly, the garden is severely damaged as is the entrance to the souk from the eastern gallery.

The Ancient Covered Market

In describing Aleppo's legacy and its ancient market, Ibn Jubayr wrote in 1184 AD. (Quoted in Forbes 2012):

> Aleppo is a town of eminent consequence, and in all ages its fame has flown high [...] it is massively built and wonderfully disposed, and of rare beauty, with large markets arranged in long adjacent

> rows so that you pass from a row of shops of one craft into that of another. [...] These markets are all roofed with wood, so their occupants enjoy ample shade.

Located in the centre of the old city within the ancient walls, the great Bazaar of Aleppo, locally known as Souk al-Madina is by far the longest covered market in the world. Covering a huge space which spreads along 13 kilometres, the souk area connects the citadel with Antioch Gate (Bianca et al. 1980, p.12). The souk became highly significant due to Aleppo's strategic location on the trade routes between the east and the west, the ancient market embraces historic layers that maintained its authenticity for centuries.

Historical background

It has been documented that some parts of the souk date back to the 13th century, and only specific parts were alternated since the 16th century, the first market in that area is believed to have been constructed upon the Muslim conquest of Aleppo in 637 AD. (Burns 2009, p.43).

The original roofing of the souk was arguably made out of wood and lasted until its destruction with flames due to the Mongol's invasion. The Mamelukes afterwards ordered a new souk to be rebuilt on the remains of the former one, the reconstruction was completed after 1516 AD. under the Ottomans. The new souk was famous for being a medieval wonder where the different sections and the Khans were connected with stone-roofed passages that expanded over eight miles (Forbes 2012). The roof of the market was made out of thick blocks of the city's most famous building material: limestone. Its significant structure which as a series of arches, cupolas and domes covering the narrow alleys made the souk even more outstanding. Souk al-Madina consists of 37 souks and Khans with thousands of shops. The market area was divided and named after the goods it offers, for instance souk as-Sakatieh for meat shops; souk Istanbul was the one including the shops that sell gold and jewellery; souk al-Hebal for ropes and so on (Burns 2009).

Damage in the current conflict

In 2012, as a result of the constant shelling and gunfire used in the clashes by the various armed groups, Souk al-Madina was caught in the flames which ravaged many of its sections and lasted for more than a day between the 28th and the night of the 29th of September. The director of the World Heritage Centre of UNESCO commented on the horrific incident: "it is a big loss and a tragedy that the old city has now been affected" (BBC 30/09/2012).

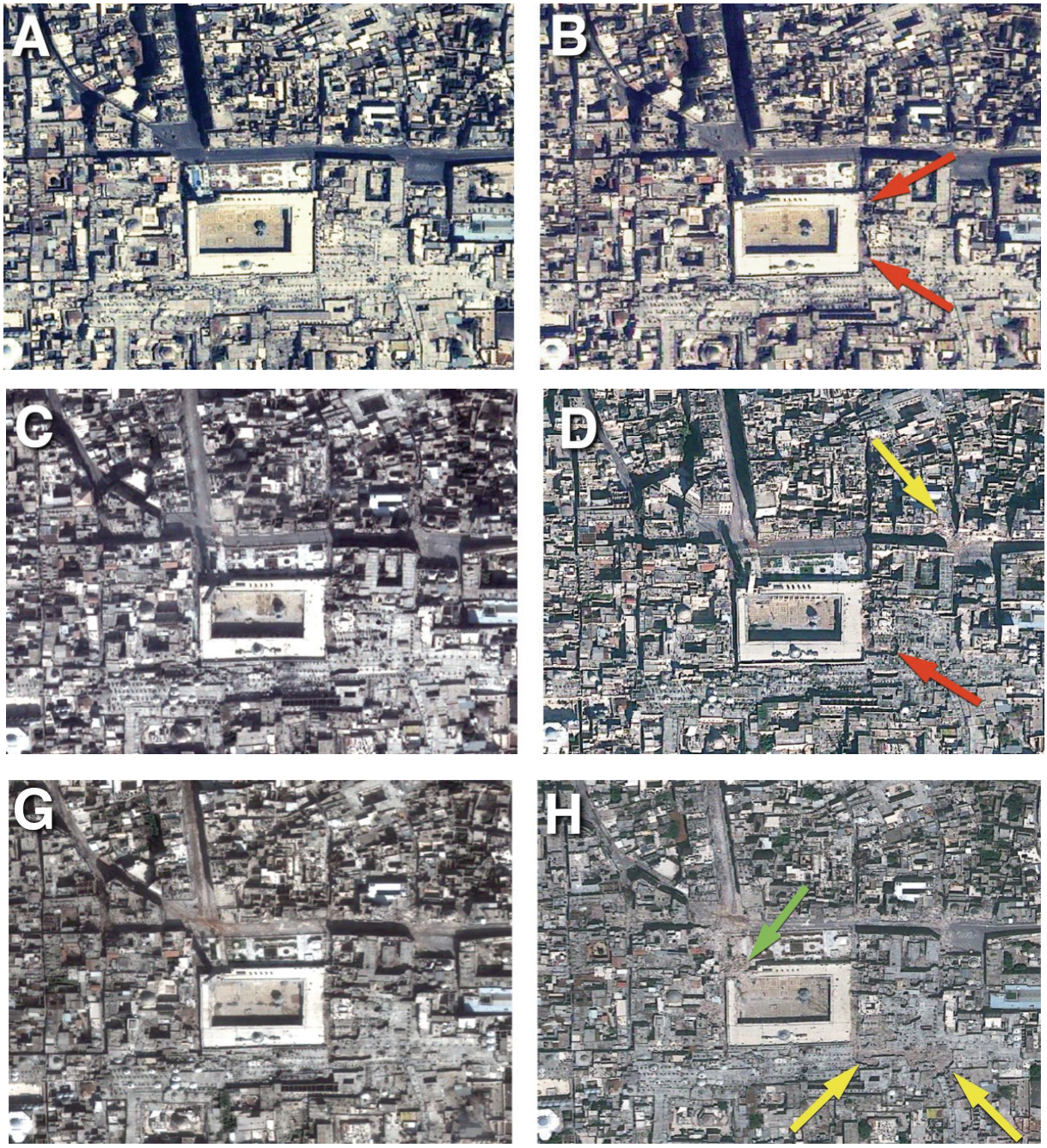

Figure 6.21 *Destruction of souk al-Madina between 9 September 2012, and May 2013* (DigitalGlobe 2013)

The report documenting the damages revealed that (UNOSAT 2014, p.21):

> 1,500 of the 1,600 shops were damaged or destroyed. Of the 20 souqs which sustained damages, 4 souqs sustained a minimum of moderate damage; 19 sustained severe damage; and 11 have been completely destroyed.

Another report 'Satellite Imagery Analysis for Urban Conflict Documentation: Aleppo, Syria' released images of the destruction within the old city and identified cases of severe damages. The

following satellite images (figure 6.21) record the damages in Souk al-Madina and other significant structures in the surroundings (AAAS 2014):

> A-B: between 9 September and 12 October 2012, a 45 meter by 10-meter section of roof of the Souk al-Madina collapsed (red arrows)
>
> C-D: Between 4 November and 15 December, an additional 20 meter by 9-meter section of roof also collapsed (red arrow), and the facade of a separate structure sustained damage spilling debris into the street (yellow arrow)
>
> G-F Between 1 March and 26 May 2013 a new section of the Souk al-Madina roof, measuring 90-meters by 30-meters, collapsed (yellow arrows), and the minaret of the Umayyad Mosque was destroyed and a large hole was created in the wall (green arrow)

The latest report of damage assessment revealed that the news of 'total destruction' of Khan al-Sabun is not accurate. The report states that it is true that the damage is severe and many sections are destroyed but the majority of the structure is still there and only affected by the flames. Khan al-Nahhasin on the other hand suffered great damages; its walls have been severely wrecked and both the southwestern section and the northern part of the roofing have fully collapsed (UNESCO / UNITAR 2018, pp.84-8)

Al-Khusrawiyya Complex

Located in front of the citadel's main gate at its southern foot, the al-Khusrawiyya complex was the first Ottoman complex-structure built in Aleppo. Designed by the chief Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan by orders of Aleppo's governor back then Husrev Pasha, the complex which included a mosque, a madrasa, a hospice, a public kitchen, a mausoleum was completed around 1565 AD. The complex was endowed with many properties including a khan, a souk with several shops, a public kitchen and a Qaysariyya adjoining the north part of the complex (known today as khan al-Shuna). The complex which was damaged by the earthquake in 1822, underwent several restorations and alternation processes between 1884 and 1921. The entire complex was destroyed except the northern portico, as a result of the heavy clashes in 2014. The massive bowl-shaped cavity in the ground suggests that the central mosque was demolished first by heavy explosives causing the whole complex to cave in (UNESCO / UNITAR 2018, p.72).

Figure 6.22 *Devastation of the al-Khusrawiyya complex between 2010 and 2017* (DigitalGlobe 2010 and 2017)

The National Hamidi Hospital (The Carlton Hotel)

Known as the citadel hotel, the historic building which was built initially as a hospital in 1891, was turned into a nursing school only to be transformed in later stages into a hotel, was famous for its location in the heart of the old city and for its architectural characteristics which managed to maintain its significance over the years. The remains of the building were about 150 years old, with its marvellous entrance right in front of the citadel's gate. In May 2014, the hotel which was occupied by the Syrian regime forces and turned into a military target, was blown up and reduced into rubbles as its underneath foundation was dug up by the armed militias and used as a tunnel loaded with tons of explosives. The blown tunnel caused the structure of the hotel to collapse entirely and caused serious damage to many surrounding buildings such as the Grand Serail (BBC 08/05/2014).

The old city Wall and Ancient Gates

Scattered around the old city embracing its historic buildings and urban fabric, both parts of the city wall and its ancient gates remained essential components of the old city's significant structure. The city wall and the gates both were constructed under the Islamic ruling for reasons of fortification and defence, their existing remains date back to the 13th through the 15th centuries. As a result of the battles within the old city, the relics of the wall east of Bab Qinnasrin gate were heavily damaged and the gate itself was wrecked. Both Bab al-Nasr gate and the stationery souk

Figure 6.23 *The Carlton hotel as pictured in 2009* by Lazhar Neftien (top)
The explosion that destroyed the Carlton Hotel on May 8, 2014 – image from the video shared by (SNN) (below)

associated with it, as well as Bab Jinan gate suffered some visible damages, whereas Bab al-Hadid gate and the residential area it comprises, bore the most significant damages (UNOSAT 2014).

The al-Jdaideh District

Located outside the city wall covering the northern part of old Aleppo, the al-Jdaideh district was recognized for its historic sacred buildings which were built in the 13th through the 18th centuries. The satellite imagery revealed serious devastation in the zone where the ancient buildings could be found; some suffered moderate damages while others were completely destroyed like Dar Zamria hotel which dates back to the 16th century. Up to five historic structures located between the wool

Figure 6.24 *Huge fire as a result of the clashes in the stationery souk in Bab al-Nasr* (Facebook: Eyes on Heritage 2014)

Figure 6.25 *Damage to Bab al-Hadid area in old Aleppo* (Facebook: Eyes on Heritage 2014)

souk and the al-Qasab gate were ravaged when two tunnels filled with explosives were detonated beneath their footings. Many religious buildings within the al-Jdaideh area were harmed, most notable was the Armenian Catholic Church in its exterior and interior parts, as well as its roofing that has been targeted more than once and was seriously damaged as a result. Another prominent building is the Maronite Cathedral of St. Elias, as its internal part is totally demolished and obvious tracks of shelling and explosives could be traced in its external walls (data analysed based on photos and videos shared on APSA 2011).

Other damages

The Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology APSA 2011, shared on its official website many footages and videos which document the extensive damages of old Aleppo's historic structures. For instance, the historic Nour Eddin mosque was bombed causing parts of external walls to decay but keeping its internal structure in a repairable condition. Souk al-Nahasin on the other hand was severely wrecked in some parts, while its Hammam was spared and had minor damages which could be recovered.

Figure 6.26 *Dar Zamria Hotel before and after the war* (Aljazeera 2013)

Hammam al-Almagi did not have the same luck, its structure survived many attacks only to collapse one day and turn into a hub of stones, Hammam Yalbougha al-Nasri sustained the most horrific damages that erased its original plan and left its structure in ruins, so is the New Serail which was completely razed between 2014 and 2015. Many construction-elements were destroyed within the al-Adiliyya mosque including the dome of the main prayer hall and the western part of the external portico. The minaret and parts of the courtyard are the only remains of the Ayyubid Madrasa al-Sultaniyya which collapsed entirely. Many historic courtyard houses were destroyed by barrel bombs which were thrown on the al-Bayada residential area within the city wall (data analysed based on photos and videos shared on APSA 2011).

6.4 Towards safeguarding Syria's cultural heritage — who is involved?

The conflict in Syria is considered one of the deadliest wars in modern history, with over a quarter of a million dead and millions displaced within and out of the country. The destruction of Syria's heritage sites often accompanied the battles which were fought by the different armed groups involved in the warfare, with fewer efforts to save Syria's cultural property, the international responses were limited to statements of condemnation and appeals which had little to no impact on safeguarding the historical sites during the crisis.

Nonetheless, the war exposed the limitation and inability of the international organization to deliver tangible solutions to prevent the crimes committed against the country's ancient sites and monuments. Syria's war might indeed be the most documented warfare with millions of videos, photographs, and reports which were created to document the crimes committed against the Syrians and their cities, and in spite of the hundreds of international appeals to stop the war and its destructive impacts, the implementations were in many cases non-existent. The national and international intervention to protect Syria's heritage property could be summarized in the efforts to raise awareness, document the attacks and, assess the damages against archaeological sites and heritage property, as well initiating many reconstruction projects to be implemented once the conflict is concluded.

Some of the international community of heritage professionals and cultural organizations expressed genuine interest in developing plans which respond to the current crisis. Such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the International Council on Museums and Sites (ICOMOS); the International Centre for the Study and the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM); International Council of Museums (ICOM); and the World Monuments Fund (WMF) (Perini and Cunliffe 2014).

However, it was the efforts carried out by the local community in Syria to preserve and protect its historical sites that made a huge difference: several civil NGOs and volunteer groups which lived within the conflict boundaries helped in providing many important sites with a basic degree of protection. Since the outbreak of the uprising in March 2011, fourteen independent initiatives were established and united to achieve a common purpose: protect Syria's heritage. Those initiatives, both governmental and non-governmental, operating inside and outside Syria cooperated to preserve the Syrian identity linked to those heritage sites. Social media platforms were arguably the most effective tool for documenting and spreading awareness to alert the world for endangered sites during the clashes. International heritage professionals used those platforms to follow the updates and interact with Syria's heritage activists and civil organizations operating in the conflict zones. The international audiences were made to witness the destruction of the Syrian heritage through footages and videos which circulated, in many cases, immediately after the attacks. As a response to the crisis, Facebook pages were created and specialized in documenting the damages, for instance in 2012 a page was created under the name, Eyes to protect Syrian Heritage (a.k.a. Eyes on Heritage) with the aim to document and provide information on the damages

inflicted on Syria's heritage, similarly in 2012 Aleppo Archaeology page was founded to deliver updates on the state of cultural heritage in the ancient city of Aleppo (Perini and Cunliffe 2014).

Social networking sites played a critical role in stimulating an international response to the Syrian crisis and to mobilize people through providing daily updates, and allowing sharing and spreading information in a relatively short time. The world, as well as the Syrian diaspora were creating their own narratives of the conflict based on the information they were provided with through these websites, even though those platforms were in many cases politicized and sometimes selective in reporting, the world was made aware of the ongoing destruction occurring in Syria. The documentation of the damages could serve as a way to raise collective awareness; a basis for future reconstruction plans centred on recognizing the damage that occurred in a site in order to recover it in the post-conflict phase; and finally, an evidence to hold accountability and prosecute those who committed crimes against heritage property (Al-Quntar and Daniels 2016, pp.386-7).

6.4.1 International efforts

Concerned archaeologists and professionals working in the heritage field began working outside Syria to document the impacts of the warfare on the country's heritage property. Most of their efforts relied on analysing satellite imagery as well as social media reports which recorded the ongoing destruction. The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) released in 2013 several reports documenting the damages of the UNESCO World Heritage Sites within Syria, followed in 2014, the United Nations Institute for Training and Research's Operational Satellite Applications Programme (UNOSAT) established surveys within eighteen heritage sites and recorded damages within several locations (Al-Quntar and Daniels 2016, p.384). These efforts of documenting and archiving the status of historic items, sites and buildings are deemed essential to ensure an accurate restoration practice and guarantees time efficiency in the post-conflict situation.

Several initiatives considered the importance of digital inventories, and their role in preserving archaeological records by acknowledging the significance of cultural objects and offer a prospect to restore them once destroyed. The Association for the Protection of Syrian Archaeology (APSA) was established in 2012 in France by a group of archaeologists, volunteers and journalists from France, Belgium and Syria. The association worked with Syrians on the ground and documented the

damage of historic sites through its Facebook page and then its independent website (Perini and Cunliffe 2014, p.7).

In 2013, the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) established in collaboration with the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin a project called 'Syrian Heritage Archive Project,' to digitally document the Syrian cultural objects' inventories (Perini and Cunliffe 2014, p.8). The Penn Cultural Heritage Centre at the University of Pennsylvania Museum (CHC), initiated in 2013 a project to 'Safeguarding the Heritage of Syria and Iraq (SHOSI)' which responses to the threats against heritage in the Middle East through "research, trainings for local museum professionals, public outreach, and the use of modern technologies to monitor destruction" (Smithsonian Global 2019).

The Smithsonian Institute; the Blue Shield; and the Alliance for the Restoration of Cultural Heritage (ARCH) initiated a group called 'The Working Group to Protect Syrian Heritage in Crisis' which brought together many experts from various professional backgrounds: "preservation of heritage, media, diplomacy, history, archaeology and other fields." The official website of ARCH International dedicated a page to raise and spread awareness of the necessity to safeguard Syria's historic sites by mobilizing the international and national efforts to achieve this goal (Perini and Cunliffe 2014, p.5).

ICCROM-ATHAR regional conservation centre, offered several educational courses to provide Syrian activists operating on the ground with the basic knowledge on how to preserve the endangered heritage property. On the official website of ICOMOS and in association with ICCROM; UNESCO and; the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums of Syria (DGAM), an e-learning course aimed to empower several Syrian professionals working within the heritage field, took place at the National Museum of Damascus in January, 2013. The courses provide "essential information about disaster risk management and emergency response, evacuation of collections, assessment of damage, network building, and capacity building for the recovery phase" (ICOMOS 2013).

Another training course was provided by Heritage for Peace (HfP) which is an NGO initiated in 2013 by an international group of heritage workers in Spain, the course was designated for DGAM staff and heritage workers representing non-governmental Syrian entities. HfP contributed to establishing a Crisis Team in Damascus in June of the same year (Perini and Cunliffe 2014, p.12). The main objective for initiating this organization was to contribute to safeguarding Syria's

heritage, because in the statement vision they indicated that "cultural heritage, and the protection thereof, can be used as a common ground for dialogue and therefore as a tool to enhance peace," hence in order to achieve peace cultural heritage must be preserved (Heritage for Peace 2013).

The World Monuments Fund (WMF) began its own fundraising campaign 'Heritage in the Crosshairs' to ensure the protection of Syria's historic sites. WMF partnered with the Syrian government in many projects within Syria prior to the conflict, most notable was the restoration project of the Aleppo Citadel which was carried out in cooperation with the Aga Khan Trust for Culture between 2000 and 2010. The Syrian authority appealed to the organization to provide the necessary help to preserve some of the Syrian sites such as Aleppo's historic centre; Krak des Chevaliers; and, the medieval fortified city of Qal'at al-Madiq (Perini and Cunliffe 2014, p.20). The UK National Committee of the Blue Shield teamed up with Heritage for Peace and produced a 'no-strike list' in 2013 to protect Aleppo's historic sites, the list was rejected and unratified by the fighting groups (Perini and Cunliffe 2014, p.12).

In 2014, UNESCO announced the launching of the 'Emergency Safeguarding of the Syrian Cultural Heritage project' which is funded by the European Union and "aims to provide an operational response to halt the on-going loss of cultural heritage and prepare post-conflict priority actions in Syria." The core purpose according to UNESCO is to "contribute to restoring social cohesion, stability and sustainable development through the protection and safeguarding of cultural heritage in view of the on-going and growing destruction and loss of Syria's rich and unique cultural heritage" (UNESCO 2018b).

To achieve the objectives of the project UNESCO designed three-pronged approach: "monitor and assess the state of cultural heritage which is updated frequently and disseminated on the platform 'Observatory' of Syrian Cultural Heritage; mitigate the destruction and loss of Syrian cultural heritage through national and international awareness-raising efforts; protect and safeguard Syrian cultural heritage through enhanced technical assistance and capacity-building for national stakeholders and beneficiaries" (UNESCO 2015b).

6.4.2 Local initiatives — preservation of Aleppo's cultural heritage

The responsibly for destroying Syria's historic sites; looting hundreds of thousands of cultural objects, lie with both the Syrian regime and the armed militias. In the case of Aleppo, the regime occupied several important buildings and loaded them with heavy weapons and tanks, which

transformed those sites into military bases and; thus, an easy target especially in the case of the ancient citadel. The armed militias on the other hand, claimed that this form of military occupation must end within their battle to liberate the old city. In order to win this battle, underground tunnels were excavated in various locations; to be loaded with explosives and then blown up was the adopted strategy which resulted in destroying the infrastructure and endangering any reconstruction efforts in the futures. The destruction of Aleppo's heritage sites received vast media coverage and daily reports were emerging from the city on the sites' state, as a response to the growing concerns many measures were undertaken to limit the damages and safeguard the property that has been left unharmed. DGAM announced continuing efforts to protect the National Museum of Aleppo; the ancient statuses located on both sides of the main entrance were covered with sandbags; concrete walls were erected to protect some sections from the impacts of missiles and mortar shells; and, the archaeological artifacts in the galleries were evacuated and either transported to Damascus or locked in the basement of the building to ensure their safety (Dagher 2014). It should be noted that the work of DGAM was limited to the government-controlled areas, while the rebel forces had control on greater zones inside the old city.

Within the opposition-controlled parts, a group of architects, archaeologists and volunteers interested in preserving Aleppo's heritage, established in 2012 an organization called the Syrian Association for Preservation of Archaeology and Heritage. Most of the founding and working members of the association were residing within the old city borders and; therefore, were provided with the opportunity to conduct many safeguarding measures. In a personally-conduced interview with one of the association's founders, Ismael Mahmoud summarized the activities that were carried out by the members which included (Mahmoud 2015):

i. dismantling the famous Minbar of the Umayyad Mosque under the supervision of the Department of Archaeology in the Local Council of the city of Aleppo and transport it to a safe place;
ii. protecting the remains of Prophet Zachariah located in the Umayyad Mosque in cooperation with the Council of Free Aleppo Governorate;
iii. protecting some archaeological parts in al-Halawiyah madrasah such as the wooden niche; the oldest wooden altar in the city of Aleppo;
iv. erecting concrete walls in front of many historic monuments and facades in order to protect them from shelling or gunfire;
v. ensuring that many valuable items will not be stolen by relocating them to safe places or warehouses;

Their latest project named 'Martyr Anas Radwan Project' was initiated to honour one of the association's volunteers who was killed during the fighting while attempting to relocate some archaeological artifices from a collapsing building. The project aimed to establish a database for the state of historic buildings within old Aleppo which could form a foundation for future reconstruction activities. Unfortunately, the project was suspended since old Aleppo fell to the Syrian regime and many of the association's members were either killed or forced to flee

6.5 Current efforts for reconstruction

So far reconstruction efforts are limited, and the country is within its own Stunde Null, still the process of shaping Syria's future has already started behind the public scenes. Exemplary is the 'Damascus International Fair,' which was held in 2017 to serve as a platform for national and international actors who will be directly and indirectly involved in the planning and reconstruction process of Syria. Countries loyal to the regime as Russia, Iran, China, and others were primarily invited, while Russia was hosted as the prime partner for future reconstruction. Even before this conference since 2016 reconstruction deals between Russia and Syria have been made worth approximately €850 Million. in funding. Currently, the Syrian regime is independent of consultation or funding by the EU or US. The only notable UN agency involved in the process is UN-Habitat (Batrawi 2018, pp.7-9).

Parallel to funding efforts and Syrian government approached the reconstruction on a legislative level with implementing a new law called 'decree 66,' allowing the government to evict land and buildings of its residents despite ownership rights. This lays the foundation for the removal of damaged buildings and infrastructure to create the opportunity of renewal and reconstruction, disregarding inhabitants needs and wills. The removed residents are paid a relatively small monthly compensation for their losses but still have no right of objection. The decree 66 is for now only legally binding in the Damascus governorate, but it could be used as a blueprint for other places and communities, where the redevelopment of entire quarters and districts should happen without the need of dealing with existing unharmed buildings (Batrawi 2018, pp.7-8).

6.5.1 Reconstruction and Syria's displaced

The reconstruction of Syria's destroyed cities is not only essential to achieving recovery of the Syrian society; it is a useful tool in the regime's hand as well because it secures its dominance over the country and prevents any potential unrest. It was argued by Swiss-Syrian activist Joseph Daher that

the regime's reconstruction strategy comprises two main goals, which could be summarized as (Osseiran 2017): a) increasing the economic and political ties to influential wealthy Syrian families, in order to strengthen the regime's supporter base b) re-shaping the social structure in former opposition-held areas, in order to prevent future uprising. To accomplish that, al-Assad reinforced the regime's known policy of 'divide and reign.'

A key issue for the regime is financing the reconstruction process since its monetary reserves have vanished and its debt levels have increased for the continuation of the war. The new projects depend heavily on private sector investment as well as foreign financial credit aid. To move privatization of public assets, forward the regime created in 2015/2016 an economic scheme based on the model of Public-Private-Partnership (PPP). Joseph Daher investigated that the legal basis; therefore, has been created through several presidential decrees such as Decree 19 of May 2015, that allowed governmental and administrative bodies to create private investment companies. Afterward, Law No. 5 which is known as the Public-Private Partnership Law was implemented in January 2016 to enable private companies to co-own and manage public assets (Osseiran 2017). These two steps created the 'legal foundation' for a long-lasting relationship between the Syrian regime and the influential affiliated-businessmen and their profiting companies.

Privatization and real estate profits became fundamental aspects of the post-war in Syria, the al-Assad regime made sure through its national urban policies to polish its economic image and to demonstrate that the development projects are still evolving despite the ongoing war. In tracking patterns of the aftermath destruction during the conflict, one could conclude that the regime targeted certain parts of the country not only because they were in the opposition-held areas, but for achieving certain high-end projects once the war is concluded, as its opponents are stripped from their land rights and are replaced by its loyal supporters. Syria has entered a new phase of conflict immediately after the city of Aleppo was recaptured by the regime and its allies in late 2016. While nowadays most of Syria's major cities are under the government's control and its Russian, Iranian partners, northern Syria is still partly being controlled by the SDF and its U.S. American allies. True that Russia and Iran are the regime's biggest supporters, it is important to draw attention around the different agendas of these two countries and the means they are employing to reach their goals. While Iran is fully committed to achieving a victory for the Syrian regime that would assure its geopolitical security, Russia seems to be more interested in shaping Syria's political and economic future (Stratfor 04/01/2017).

Having secured its presence in the region, and invested a considerable amount of funds in military, financial and diplomatic support to the Syrian government, Russia is looking to recover its capitals and securing the permanence of the al-Assad regime, through a manifold plan for reconstructing the country. With an estimated $400 Billion. needed for the reconstruction process, Russia is arguably inviting other countries such as the U.S.A., EU member states and China to contribute with funds as well as creating the future image of Syria (Stratfor 21/08/2018). Today, the restoration plans of Aleppo's Umayyad Mosque have surfaced, with more than $5.5 million which comes from the Chechen Republic under the Russian sponsorship, as an attempt to whitewash history and tell a specific narrative of the 'truth' (Darke 2018).

It should be noted that the Russia advocacy for reconstruction is not exclusively aiding in stabilizing the country, nor making profits but more about boosting Russia's indispensable position in the Middle East and deciding Syria's future in front of the Western world. Moscow negotiated the returning of the Syrian refugees as part of its plan to convince both the EU countries and the United States in its reconstruction plan; however, both have expressed unwillingness to working directly with the Syrian regime and its head al-Assad.

6.5.2 The role of the UN in the reconstruction process

As the war boils down to an end, Russia and the Syrian regime are pleading for international funds to reconstruct the cities, it helped to destroy over seven years of war. The attention of the regime and the international community is focused on reconstructing the devastated city of Aleppo which was divided between both the government and the rebel forces since late 2012 and ended up under the al-Assad regime's control four years later. Being Syria's economic capital before the war, Aleppo's reconstruction is of high significance because it determines the way many engaged powers are being balanced in a post-conflict Syria. Reports have revealed that the United Nations have signed off a deal with the al-Assad regime to rebuild Aleppo. The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) collaborated with the Syrian Ministry of Local Administration and Environment for planning the reconstruction phase (Beals 2017).

The rebuilding and repopulating plans are biased as the priorities of the reconstruction are the historic old city and the regime-held areas. The displaced population from Eastern Aleppo that fled before the falling of the city to al-Assad forces, is not considered and not even allowed back in the city. The reconstruction process of East Aleppo started as the Syrian government released a plan

which reveals 15 areas that are considered priorities for population return. Soon after, the UN carried out an assessment of security and refugees' needs in those areas and mapped over 8 'Shelter Clusters' in coordination with the al-Assad's plan. The rebuilding resources were focused on three areas as part of a "multi-sector" pilot project (Beals 2017). The process might seem promising to many, but it is important to note that some of the eight neighbourhoods identified as priorities in both the regime's and the UN's plans are not located in Eastern Aleppo but in the Western part of the city which remained under the al-Assad's control throughout the conflict.

The aftermath of the conflict is not limited to the physical loss of properties within the old or the Eastern side of the city but includes the damage done to up to 30.000 property records which were destroyed entirely during the war. Without these records, residents of those areas will not be able to prove their rights and ownership and will be facing permanent displacement consequently (Beals 2017). UNHCR announced in its Shelter monthly publication-September 2017, as part of its Syria Humanitarian Response Plan, the initiation of a humanitarian program named as Rebuild Syria Reconstruction Program (RSRP) in coordination with Rebuild and Relief International (RRI) which is a German-based NGO operating in partnership with UNHCR, German Humanitarian assistance, UN-Habitat and others to protect the rights of refugees from both Iraq and Syria (UNHCR 2017).

PRI started its mission in Syria and particularly in Aleppo in June 2017, the German NGO claims to be neutral and not to side by the al-Assad regime as its sole motive is to help the displaced Syrians. But its transparency has been suspected because it is carrying out its work on the Syrian soil with the Syria Trust for Development (STD) and its founder Asma al-Assad. In late 2014 UN agencies like UNDP and UNHCR expressed interest in rehabilitating and re-constructing some destroyed neighbourhoods within the city of Homs, Syria's third largest city. Their efforts were supported by donor states and were carried out in partnership with the Syrian government. The selection of the neighbourhoods and the nature of the projects were directed by the Syrian authorities and raised many ethical concerns regarding the transparency of these agencies and how the Syrian regime was manipulating them to fulfil its plans in depriving its opponents of their rights in the city. None of the displaced population has been consulted regarding their properties and their rights were completely ignored during the execution of the plans (The Syria Institute and Pax 2017).

7 Section Seven: Towards an integrated approach

The post-conflict phase could be defined as the 'ten years' period that follows the end of a conflict; and reflects the instability and devastation of economy, as well as the reduction of human capacity, and the limitation to carrying out development operations. Within this phase, the ideal approach would be fulfilling the socio-economic needs which could cover – and not limited to the following points:

Infrastructure rebuilding, and revival of human resources: the vital facilities and services which sustain the economy of a country are often targeted during conflicts; roads, bridges, water supply networks; electrical grids compose the physical systems that serve and maintain the functionality of any country. The first step towards achieving economic-stability in the post-conflict period would be re-establishing those damaged systems and reviving their fundamental functions. The aggressions of any conflict are calculated in terms of human causalities, in spite of the crimes committed against cities and their physical structures, it is humans that suffer the war consequences the most. A human-centred approach should guide the rebuilding operations; favoring people's needs and welcoming those who fled due to the conflict, must be marked a priority.

Reduction of violence and achieving human security: when a conflict is fought with weaponry by militias or factions that engage in criminal activities, and even after signing formal ceasefire or peace agreements, it could be years until the country is cleared and declared 'safe.' It is indisputable that a country which emerges from a conflict is not a secure place for living, and adopting a human-security approach in the phase after a conflict, is crucial to achieve recovery. It has been noted in the General Assembly resolution 66/290, that "human security is an approach to assist [...] in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of [people]." It calls for "people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people."

Reallocation of resources: the shift of the exploration of national economy, from military spending to productive activities would lead to stabilizing the country in the post-conflict period and would put the recovery process in motion.

7.1 Post-conflict Aleppo

While post-conflict reconstruction projects have started to emerge in old Aleppo, and foreign financial aids are pouring into many of them, still there is not a vibrant vision or agenda on how to manage the damaged heritage property. The threat of a second destruction while carrying out the rebuilding projects is high, and the exclusion of the old city's former population from any plans, is most likely.

The method for managing the damaged historic fabric should be extracted from the examined case studies, in relevance to the current situation besides the pre-war identity and its components. The scheme should adopt three main approaches: one focuses on the rebuilding of the historic structures and follows the international standards of restoration; the second, is to replicate or totally reconstruct the places of high significance which did not sustain severe damages; and, the third is to 'save as much as possible' to retain the historic identity of the city's inner core.

Following the international charters, both theoretical and practical standards could lay the ground to regulate the interventions within the old city, in a way that safeguards the authenticity and does not harm the integrity of its structures. However, the debate is still revolving around which approach is the most appropriate; while there are not fixed answers or measures, the rebuilding plans should aim to restore the historic fabric, and allow the integration of new structures.

There is no doubt that the best-case scenario would be carrying out an overall assessment for values, resources, stakeholders and, legislation. Nonetheless, this procedure is unrealistic within the immediate post-conflict period; the war in Syria has entered a new phase, and the government has started clearing the rubbles of the damaged buildings in some areas across the country, in preparation for the rebuilding-phase to begin.

Just as in rebuilding Beirut's central district, the existing rebuilding process of Aleppo is highly politicized and the decision to clear the remnants is seen as an attempt to purify the old city of the violence it witnessed. In addition to supporting the narrative of the 'terrorists' responsibility for destroying the old city, the rebuilding is advoking for healing the wounded inhabitants—who were forced to leave their homes, and are not offered an even opportunity to get back.

True that it is not clear yet who will be involved in rebuilding the country, still rather evident that the regime is adopting an amnesia-oriented approach to force its story of events. This is being

manifested through the existing selectivity, inclusion and exclusion of the rebuilding procedures; as well as, denying the existence of any war memorials; and, promoting the reconstruction projects to generate financial benefits.

The desire to 'construct' a narrative of the past is overpowering the will to actually 'reconstruct' it, this claim that allegedly nothing happened mirrors the attitude beyond restoring the ruins of the Frauenkirche in Dresden. The focus of the current rebuilding plans in old Aleppo is limited to restoring isolated monuments without retaining their historic surroundings, the decision to replicate the destroyed minaret of the Umayyad Mosque falls under the same category. In view of this, it is noted that several emerging reconstruction procedures of some monuments were deemed unconventional, as they were executed using new materials and building methods, which resulted in a deformed version of the original structure.

Another point is centred around the exclusivity of the funds and efforts designated for the rebuilding plans; so far, the focus of the projects is limited to the boundaries identified in 1986 by UNESCO as part of the inscription on the World Heritage List. Consequently, the claim that old Aleppo's former glory could be restored by replicating its monuments, which is also considered a way to 'achieve reconciliation' would result in re-creating an isolated island with detached structures. This scenario could be referenced to the Mostar case study, where the rebuilding of the Stari Most bridge was deemed a 'priority' without considering the surrounding fabric, and led to replicating a historic structure that the majority of the city's residents do not identify with.

Apropos of the pre-war 'proposed' old city's boundaries which reflect the deficiency of understanding Aleppo's historic fabric and its significant components, there has been an inconsistent typology of values tagged on some structures and could be summarized as landmarks with:

- historic symbolism that dominates the city's cultural skyline and contributes to its unique identity and legacy, such as the citadel and the Umayyad Mosque;
- unique architectural and historic values which support the urban configuration and form the Islamic city's elements, such as khans, madrasahs and ancient mosques;
- limited architectural value but embrace features and characteristics of historic origins, such as some of the courtyard houses which were turned into museums and hammams;

- no architectural value but are deemed significant due to their location within the historic borders, such as the traditional residential quarters.

This categorisation overlooked many structures which contributed to the historic identity of the inner core's fabric, and treated the old city as a composition of singular buildings rather than a totality of historic layers which embrace landmarks within an ancient context. Against the common presumption that the historic fabric of old Aleppo was kept intact, is the fact that the old city has witnessed drastic transformations which ranged between destruction, rehabilitation, reconstruction and even in some cases demolition. In other words, the city's historic layers were not composed through preservation but rather from alternations and modifications, and while some buildings might be deemed 'irrelevant' in the historic context, their significance to the inhabitants' might be irreplaceable.

Aleppo's identity indeed infuses many civilizations which existed in the country and contributed to its historic legacy, but it must be noted that merely a few heritage assets managed to preserve parts of their authentic characteristics, such as the citadel and the Umayyad Mosque. It could be argued that even the historic layers of those two landmarks were modified as well, but they sustained a great significance to the city's cultural landscape and residents.

Since the devastation within the old city is severe, and the threat of losing traces of the historic layers in many areas is expected, the discussion should be initiated on the values of those layers, to whom and, to which historic period one should restore if possible.

The pre-war categorization of historic buildings and layers must be re-assessed before developing any rebuilding guidelines, as well as including the assessment of other aspects such as the possible stakeholders; capacity building; and, the scope of projects.

7.2 Typology of assessments

7.2.1 Possible stakeholders

- Local authorities

While the main responsibility of the local authorities when a conflict ends, lies within providing the affected community with the basic needs of upgraded infrastructure and housing projects, the reconstruction of cultural heritage should be added to their key tasks. The governmental representatives of the locals should be involved in documenting the different stakeholders, as well as the regulations for both land-rights and land-use. In Aleppo, this role could be covered by the Directorate of the Old City (DOC) which was established in the early 1990s and was responsible for preserving the old city and its fabric for the years before the conflict.

- National government

It is most likely that in the post-conflict situation the national authorities are unable to deliver structured plans or projects for the rebuilding of cultural heritage. Therefore, it is necessary to execute the rebuilding operations on the ground in coordination with the existing entities or even the newly established one. The national ministries involved in the reconstruction are responsible for directing the funds into the designated projects which are carried out by the authorized organizations, both their political and financial support are essential to conduct and implement long-term successful rebuilding plans and policies. Old Aleppo's rebuilding initiatives should be undertaken by national agencies such as Ministry of Local Administration and Environment; Ministry of Culture; Ministry of Tourism and, Ministry of Awqaf, in coordination with the local authorities which still exist in the old city like the Directorate of Antiquates; the Directorate for Tourism Development; the Health and Education Department and, Awqaf Administration.

- External actors

Post-conflict rebuilding plans rely heavily on external assistance which could be classified as financial aid or technical support. Each of the different actors has agendas and interests which should be identified, and must work in harmony with the overall national purpose of the rebuilding projects. Many international organizations aided the conservation project in old Aleppo prior to the conflict and could be identified as protentional actors in the post-conflict situation such as

UNESCO, GTZ, AKTC, WMF, and the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. It should be underlined that because of the international nature of the conflict in Syria, many reconstruction projects are being financed directly from the countries that assisted the Syrian regime in its battles. For instance, the rebuilding of the Umayyad Mosque of Aleppo is being financed by the Russian Muslim government of Chechnya; thus, all the countries that supported the al-Assad's regime in its battles could be considered a protentional external actor.

- Private sector

Identifying private partners is not always feasible, especially when the country is recovering from a civil war. While this sector often possesses the required skills and resources to contribute into the rebuilding plans, integrating it in the decision-making course — if not assessed properly — could commercialize the process and limit it into centralized economic profits. The neo-liberalization and privatization of the Syrian economy, means that the private aid would be limited to the regime's affiliated figures and initiatives.

- Local community

The targeted community and its participation in the rebuilding phase are vital to achieving reconciliation and recovery, property rights and ownership should be identified in the proposed post-conflict legislation, and a linkage between the local community and its governmental representatives must be established. While most of old Aleppo's inhabitants have abandoned their areas and took refuge within or outside the country borders, their land rights should be sustained and the matter their possible return must be discussed. Including the returning refugees with their local expertise, in the rebuilding plans, would limit the need to import foreign labours, and would stimulate the national economy which is highly unstable at the moment. Different methods and approaches should be adopted after carrying out a careful assessment of both, the existing and the new communities and balancing their needs and demands. The discussion of — who is, will be — inhabiting old Aleppo is open for speculations, and still one of the most critical points when addressing the post-conflict plans which aims should be to recover both the city's and the inhabitants' collective identity.

7.2.2 Needs and capacities

Local resources are required, both funding-wise and in terms of human capitals with collective knowledge, skills and assets which could be used to boost the national economy and revive the intangible collective identity through rebuilding its tangible components. It is fundamental to mark who is eligible to participate in the rebuilding plans, and for the local communities to mobilize along national institutions and organizations to increase efficiency with time and assets. The eligibility criteria must consider the subject of refugees and displaced people who inhabited the city prior to the war, and their possible return and contribution to the overall process.

National laws should be devoted to regulating the rebuilding procedures, and allocate those responsible for executing them. New legislation must be developed in terms of distributing foreign funds and limited interventions. Dedicating the majority of Syria's capitals into military investment has catastrophic outcomes on the country's economy, which suffers great hyperinflation at the moment. It is most likely that the national institutions will not be able to initiate nor execute urban regeneration projects, and would depend on private and foreign funding, which might result in more privatization of both properties and lands, as well as more exclusion and polarization within the rebuilding plans.

Documentation is crucial and inevitable in the post-conflict situation, as it identifies the historical layers of the most prominent landmarks and their architectural characteristics, scheme and structures. Without historical records and data, it would be impossible to carry out any restoration practices or to understand the places' significance. Owning to the UNESCO inscription, old Aleppo is well documented in terms of monuments and urban structures. However, there is an urgent need to unify and coordinate the data collection which documented the pre-war fabric of the old city, a huge mass of records is scattered among many national entities, international organizations, as well as many independent local and foreign scholars, architects and researchers. Gaining access to all these documents would aid to salvaging many damaged buildings which managed to sustain their footings or parts of their structures.

Damages should be assessed in order to develop guidelines which cover several different approaches and techniques that deal with damaged cultural assets. This process is not limited to quantifying the damages, but helps developing new building methods and even materials which fit the preferred

rebuilding schemes. Damage assessment of many areas within the old city of Aleppo has already been executed depending on satellite imagery as well as on-site analysis and observations.

Training and building materials should be made available, affordable and acquainted to the locals. Training programs for labour forces should commence in collaboration with specialized national and international entities. Old Aleppo's urban structures and buildings are commonly built with limestone, which is considered the basic component for constructing many architectural elements which contribute to the ancient city's identity such as vaults, domes and external facades. The rebuilding projects should incorporate this material into the basic plans in order to revive the characteristics of the old city.

7.2.3 Buildings categorization and scope of rebuilding

Following the documentation and damage assessment of the historic fabric, the rebuilding plans could be commenced in harmony with the existing classification of buildings within old Aleppo's borders. However, it should be noted that this classification relied heavily on assessing and ascribing aesthetic and historic values, without taking the other types of values into considering. Thus, the rebuilding approaches should not limit their principles to this classification, but extend them after a thorough assessment of the possible values embraced within the remaining fabric. According to the pre-war buildings' categorization, the old city of Aleppo incorporates: documented and registered monuments; courtyard-houses with historic significance; buildings with unique architectural elements; and, new buildings without any historical value.

Based on this classification, the rebuilding approaches could be developed for certain buildings within the historic fabric following specific measures such as: total replication and restoration according to the available documents and data; partial rebuilding with limited alternations as long as they do not harm the historic value of the property; preservation of the authentic architectural elements; and, installation of new structures within the historic context following guidelines that secure the fabric's significance.

7.3 Primary measures for different urban typologies

Succeeding a careful consideration of the old city's identity and distinctive characteristics, rebuilding guidelines could be developed and ramified to cover the old city's three urban typologies: the archaeological monuments; the residential quarters; and, the ancient streets grid. It could be

argued that these typologies reflect the significant ancient urban patterns, layers and structures; thus, their recovery is critical to salvaging the Aleppines' collective identity and memory.

7.3.1 Traditional urban structure — residential quarters

The significance of the old city is not limited to its monuments and historic landmarks, much of this significance is attributed to the ancient patterns represented within the old city's fabric. The urban structures of old Aleppo must be respected, and if possible represented through the rebuilding projects which adopt the following basic principles:

7.3.1.1 Rebuilding, restoration and conservation

To avoid causing greater damage which might result in second destruction while carrying out the rebuilding plans, the basic principle of 'save as much as possible' should be the key concept directing the work. Even in cases where the damages are severe, there is always something to be salvaged: whether the structure had collapsed and turned into rubbles or burnt entirely, the footings would still exist and must be traced. To repair the damages of the remaining structures; salvage as much surviving original materials as possible; and to restore to original plans must be marked a priority.

- Prioritizing careful refining of the remaining ruins, debris and rubbles is highly recommended, these remains help to uncover the original plan of the building to be reconstructed in later stages when there is enough documentation. They also allow incorporating original materials in the rebuilding plans, which could revive the identity and contribute to the authenticity of the structure;
- the usage of appropriate building materials would lead to implementing a successful restoration in terms of recovering the building's damages or destruction;
- while the first phase should focus on salvaging as many original materials and structures as possible, in a later phase the focus must shift into restoring many of the original historical elements which are incorporated within the ancient sites. There is a high threat of neglecting those features which might allow new materials to be uncarefully or unconventionally added, the marking of new elements or materials must be marked following the principles of the Venice Charter;
- to recreate the quarters, traditional architectural elements must be incorporated after a careful assessment of what is left and how it was prior to the conflict, whether it is considered heritage or not is a different story which should not be tackled only based on

prior classification but according to the building's contribution to the overall ancient scheme;

- to utilize and combine traditional and modern building methods, in a way that does not harm the integrity of the building, as well as integrating traditional architectural elements in the composition of the external facades;
- in cases of severe destruction and the impossibility to salvage or repair elements with historic value, it is advisable to combine those items and store them instead of neglecting or utterly eliminate them;
- buildings that sustained unrepairable damages and are structurally unsound must be removed.

7.3.1.2 Function and new buildings in historic context

- The measures adopted should sustain the pre-war function of the historic structure when feasible;
- least possible alterations and modifications could be permitted under the condition that they are compatible with the original function of the building, and does not change its identity or harm its significance;
- additions should be planned in agreement with the traditional cultural landscape of the old city, and respect the cadastral schemes in terms of occupation, function and building heights when possible. As well as, contemplating all the aspects related to the external appearance of the structures which includes both materials and features.

7.3.2 Street networks patterns

The alleys within the old city of Aleppo do not just connect the historic districts and the most prominent landmarks, they convey a unique identity and contribute to the overall uniqueness of the old city. To revive old Aleppo's pre-war identity, the ancient street patterns which managed to maintain its significance for decades, must be reconstrued concerning its cobblestone pavement. Two types of pavements must be distinguished: the first is related to pedestrians' movement and traditional commercial transportation within the narrow alleys which were usually paved with limestone, whereas the main streets surrounding the old city and accessed by traffic were paved with grey basalt flagstone, which should not be used within the old city borders. To restore the traditional streets patterns, several points must be taken into consideration:

- The need to sustain the functional sequence of the street networks between public, semi-public and private, and to improve it in some areas;
- restore the original pavement of the main streets and alleys, according to the historic layout in terms of dimensions and materials;
- salvage as many original stones as possible, to be reused in the new pavement plans and integrate new materials when needed, but only if they are compatible with the design, material, colour, texture and size with the old ones;
- the old city suffered from the lack of sufficient parking lots before the conflict, thus, new spots for parking should be integrated into the new plans in the areas surrounding of the old city as well as limiting car access in others;
- the preservation of the dead-end alleys is essential as they form one of the main characteristics which regulate the movement within the old city and create semi-private spaces that are considered important to sustain the old city's identity.

7.4 Structural challenges for heritage rebuilding

Although the rebuilding projects are being initiated across the country, Syria is far from reaching stability in the foreseen future; between announcing that the conflict has come to an end, and that the post-conflict period has begun, the determination of the true timing is impossible to predict. Whilst many conflicts might have been concluded with signing peace resolution, this scenario did not take place in the Syrian case, and the possibility that hostilities might erupt again is expected.

While there is no doubt that the post-conflict recovery period could offer an opportunity for development and rehabilitation, the projects within this phase might be centred on generating economic growth, without focusing on reviving the damaged infrastructure. The unregulated, economic-based rebuilding projects might lead to producing new spaces with constructed identities, which threaten the historic continuity of both the fabric and the people.

In towns and cities ravaged by war, both the damaged and the surviving cultural assets are key to restore people's collective memory and identity. The value of heritage increases in such events, and not understanding the country's nor the conflict's context might lead to limiting the rebuilding efforts to restoring 'symbolic' heritage property, and neglecting the rest of the components which made the city 'significant.'

Seen as a way to promote a certain version which does not reflect reality nor achieve the expectations of the wounded community; the international fixation and donations for restoring monuments of universal value, might overpower the will to restore other structures — despite that they might have greater values to the locals, or the will to provide people with the basics for their daily needs like shelters, schools, hospitals, and so forth.

The question of war memorials, and the decision whether to cover, recover or sustain the conflict's evidence is controversial as well, between preserving and removing the rubbles, a new narrative might be re-written and a common identity might be lost for good.

7.5 Concluding words

This thesis has offered basic schemes for rebuilding cultural heritage, with focus on the old city of Aleppo. The work set out to examine the concept of heritage conservation in the context of post-conflict urban recovery, and aimed to develop a set of guidelines which were extracted from analysing previous reconstruction experiences, where cities endured a similar tragedy.

While the primary focus of this dissertation was to develop an exemplary integrated approach for war-damaged historic cities — 'with old Aleppo as its blue-print,' the rapidly changing political atmosphere in Syria, and the outset of many reconstruction projects revealed a new dimension of controversy. The exploitation of the reconstruction process to support the propaganda that 'everything is back to normal,' demonstrates serious inadequacy in uncovering the conflict's outcome, aside from the unwillingness of the government to put any current efforts for rebuilding on hold until the war is concluded. The research built on various interrelationships which disclosed the necessity to implement any rebuilding approach within a peace-building framework, especially when advocating for achieving reconciliation and recovery, which is clearly absent in the Syrian context.

In view of this, although I have briefly illustrated a number of methods which may assist the preservation of the significance of Aleppo's old city, I do not claim that I embraced the whole range of interconnected-aspects, and I call for an updated on-ground damage-assessment before any further research is conducted. Additional research which revolves around a more detailed analysis of the fate of Syria's displaced populations, and their contribution to rebuilding the country, is crucial in the course of time.

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Annex 1

GUIDELINES ON SAFEGUARDING CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF URBAN STRUCTURES DAMAGED BY ARMED CONFLICT – The Cottbus Document

1 PREAMBLE

The destructive effects of war, and particularly the deliberate targeting of cultural assets, constitute an exceptional challenge for Heritage Conservation. The general principles of retaining cultural significance by continuous care and by minimal intervention may seem of little use when one is faced with catastrophic and wide-spread damage.

Experience since World War II has shown that post-war rebuilding of historic cities has, all too often, resulted in a 'Second Destruction' even more intense than the first, with valuable fabric and structures removed to make way for whole- sale rebuilding, often on a much larger scale and on different street patterns. Furthermore, archaeological fabric that is sometimes thousands of years older than anything visible above ground, has often fallen victim to such rebuilding schemes. All these activities have frequently destroyed or seriously reduced the cultural identity and spirit of historic cities.

Aiming to help forestall such 'Second Destructions' of war-damaged cities by overzealous and ill-considered activities, and to ensure that future generations will not be cut off from the age-old traditions and identity of the places, this document provides guidelines and describes approaches and policies for safeguarding the cultural significance which urban structures retain even in a damaged state.

2 BASIC CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 On 'Destruction'

Contrary to public perception and terminology, cities and other heritage places are rarely 'destroyed' by war, in the sense that nothing of value is left. A city or place may suffer grievous and extensive damage, and this can mislead laymen to believe that it has been destroyed completely. However, war-damaged ruins, sometimes covered by the rubble of collapsed structures, invariably retain a wealth of Cultural Significance, such as the lower storeys of houses conserving their plan and layout, decorative features, vaulted spaces, cellars and other underground structures, as well as a wealth of archaeological fabric. Urban structures are shaped by the pattern of houses, streets and open spaces, their scale, shape, layout and materials; together with the dominant morphology they define the spirit of a place. They also form the locus of the history and

the collective and individual memory of the people who live there, often looking back to a long family history.

2.2 On Cultural Significance and Stakeholders

The Cultural Significance of a place is embodied not only in its location, fabric, structure and visual aspects, but to a very large extent in the stakeholders for whom the place has significance. In the first instance this means the people who have lived there and who have inherited the place from their forebears. It also includes those people all over the world who regard all cultural heritage and all places of cultural significance as the responsibility of mankind as a whole.

Thanks to their connection to the place through memory and experience, through oral traditions and many other influences, the members of the local population are bound to have a far more intense and more diverse understanding of, and connection to, the Cultural Significance of their town than other people. They should therefore be given every possible encouragement to stay in their place or, if they felt compelled to flee, given every possible help to return to it so as to rebuild and continue the life and traditions connected to the place.

2.3 On Decision–Making Processes

Decisions on post-conflict recovery of war-damaged towns should be made on a joint basis, taking into account the will and desires of the people who have a right to regard a place as their cultural inheritance as well as the internationally accepted guidelines of Heritage Conservation.

It is elementary that proper decision–making processes be established which ensure participation of all stakeholders. In post-conflict situations, this will typically raise the problem that parties that were at war until recently will need to embark of a process of coming to terms and for gradually achieving reconciliation as a basis for collaboration. To achieve sustainable results, post-conflict recovery and rebuilding should be the outcome of a process of reconciliation, not a substitute for reconciliation.

For individual cities and places, Heritage Boards should be set up, composed of representatives of the cities or places in question as well as from international bodies and formed so as to ensure competent, fair and public proceedings. These Boards have the task to lay down binding guidelines as well as to make decisions in individual cases, and to monitor and review the ensuing activities. They should be empowered to do so by the legitimate state and local governments as well as by international bodies. They should be able to intervene if their decisions and policies are circumvented. They should be answerable to the stakeholders and to the public.

3 IMPLEMENTATION AND POLICIES

In war-damaged cities, one must distinguish between areas for different types of intervention. Typically, a very high proportion of a city area will be of low-to-medium significance in heritage terms. These areas, mainly residential in nature, will provide ample opportunity for the fast and intensive rebuilding that is necessary to secure housing and to get a city going again. By contrast, it is imperative to define the areas of highest cultural and historical significance. They must be exempted from rash and hasty interventions. Intervention categories need to be defined on the basis of desk and ground assessment, as follows.

3.1 Assessment

Step 1: Desk preparation and assessment of Cultural Significance as it existed before the damage by armed conflict. This assessment should not only examine the immediate pre- war condition, but should take account of

any problems (deformations, deterioration and their causes) of culturally significant areas before the impact of armed conflict.

The data collected should be made available in the shape of classification and mapping employing appropriate techniques.

Step 2: Whilst armed conflict continues, damage assessment should be made on the basis of available data, to be augmented by a ground survey as soon as the place is accessible. Remaining Cultural Significance after damage by armed conflict needs to be evaluated and assessed. The data collected should be made available in the shape of classification and mapping employing appropriate techniques.

As laid down in the Burra Charter, Cultural Significance should never be assessed and determined by one individual alone. Assessment should take into account all possible forms of Cultural Significance, not only aesthetic and historic values, but also emotional values. The Cultural Significance recognized for individual areas and places should be documented and explained in sufficient detail.

Documentations and assessments should be accessible for all concerned parties and for the public.

3.2 Intervention Categories

The assessments from the desk preparation and the ground survey need to be combined to chart areas requiring different approaches and falling into different categories of intervention.

3.2.1 Intervention Category A

Areas of Category A are characterized by the highest level of cultural significance. Typically, though not exclusively, they will include the oldest and most identity-forming structures of a city and the city centre.

Because of their outstanding cultural significance they should enjoy the highest degree of protection. As a first step after a ceasefire, a full documentation of the damaged area is to be conducted. No works (except protection and superficial salvage) are permissible in these areas before a complete project for a defined place or area has been approved by the relevant Heritage Board.

The following principles of rebuilding damaged places (street blocks, individual buildings, historic landmarks) are valid in areas of Intervention Category A:

- In clearing a site, the maximum amount of in situ fabric should be retained. Wherever war- ranted by the character and value of the damaged place, displaced fabric (rubble, fragments) should not be cleared wholesale by large machinery but should be sifted for significant architectural and decorative fragments that might be inventoried and stored properly to enable their reuse for the restoration of the structure they belong to, or kept in a museum if the building is considered a total loss.
- Rebuilding partially destroyed places need not necessarily take the form of reconstruction, although this is permissible where it is the best way to retain or recover Cultural Significance. In general, Rebuilding must be taken seriously as a design task, not a mechanical process of reproduction. New elements should be recognizable as such.

- Rebuilding projects should be based on a study and understanding of the morphology of the place as it existed before the traumatic event. Scale, rhythm, building materials, construction types and characteristic shapes of buildings and details are among the elements that define the identity of a place. They should be employed in designing replacement structures for lost buildings.
- In places where little or no architectural fabric of cultural significance remains, the site and shape of the plot as well as the volume of the lost building should be regarded as parameters for the rebuilding project.
- Urbanist modifications (such widening streets, public spaces, courtyards) should not be undertaken at the cost of valuable in situ remnants.
- In rebuilding damaged places it should be taken into account that the recent destruction is also a historic event worth remembering. I cannot be the aim of post-war reconstruction to obliterate all evidence of that traumatic event.

3.2.2 Intervention Category B

Areas of Category B are characterized by possessing a degree of cultural significance that warrants protective policies on a more generalized level.

In areas of this category, the general rebuilding scheme must be cleared with the Heritage Board. The Board can lay down rules and regulations governing such matters as the land use, the street pattern and the scale of rebuilding. The Board can also require particular approaches to selected places or buildings of cultural significance within the area.

3.2.3 *Intervention Category C*
Areas of Category C possess little or no cultural significance. In areas of this category, rebuilding can go ahead on the basis of the general planning bylaws valid for the area. Participation of the Heritage Board is not required.

3.3 Monitoring and reviewing processes
All processes of post-conflict recovery of heritage cities should be accompanied by a process of monitoring and reviewing. This includes proper documentation of all relevant discussions, of decisions and activities. It includes periodic reflection on the effects achieved and, if necessary, the willingness to change policies and approaches that turn out to be less than beneficial to cultural significance. This document itself should be discussed, revised and updated on the basis of experience gained.

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Annex 2

Inscription on the World Heritage List
Ancient City of Aleppo – 1986

Located at the crossroads of several trade routes from the 2nd millennium B.C., Aleppo was ruled successively by the Hittites, Assyrians, Arabs, Mongols, Mamelukes and Ottomans. The 13th-century citadel, 12th-century Great Mosque and various 17th-century madrasas, palaces, caravanserais and hammams all form part of the city's cohesive, unique urban fabric, now threatened by overpopulation.

Outstanding Universal Value

Brief synthesis

Located at the crossroads of several trade routes since the 2nd millennium B.C., Aleppo was ruled successively by the Hittites, Assyrians, Akkadians, Greeks, Romans, Umayyads, Ayyubids, Mameluks and Ottomans who left their stamp on the city. The Citadel, the 12th-century Great Mosque and various 16th and 17th-centuries madrasas, residences, khans and public baths, all form part of the city's cohesive, unique urban fabric.

The monumental Citadel of Aleppo, rising above the suqs, mosques and madrasas of the old walled city, is testament to Arab military might from the 12th to the 14th centuries. With evidence of past occupation by civilizations dating back to the 10th century B.C., the citadel contains the remains of mosques, palace and bath buildings. The walled city that grew up around the citadel bears evidence of the early Graeco-Roman street layout and contains remnants of 6th century Christian buildings, medieval walls and gates, mosques and madrasas relating to the Ayyubid and Mameluke development of the city, and later mosques and palaces of the Ottoman period. Outside the walls, the Bab al-Faraj quarter to the North-West, the Jdeide area to the north and other areas to the

south and west, contemporary with these periods of occupation of the walled city contain important religious buildings and residences. Fundamental changes to parts of the city took place in the 30 years before inscription, including the destruction of buildings, and the development of tall new buildings and widened roads. Nonetheless the surviving ensemble of major buildings as well as the coherence of the urban character of the suqs and residential streets and lanes all contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value.

Criterion (iii): The old city of Aleppo reflects the rich and diverse cultures of its successive occupants. Many periods of history have left their influence in the architectural fabric of the city. Remains of Hittite, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ayyubid structures and elements are incorporated in the massive surviving Citadel. The diverse mixture of buildings including the Great Mosque founded under the Umayyads and rebuilt in the 12th century; the 12th century Madrasa Halawiye, which incorporates remains of Aleppo's Christian cathedral, together with other mosques and madrasas, suqs and khans represents an exceptional reflection of the social, cultural and economic aspects of what was once one of the richest cities of all humanity.

Criterion (iv): Aleppo is an outstanding example of an Ayyubid 12th century city with its military fortifications constructed as its focal point following the success of Salah El-Din against the Crusaders. The encircling ditch and defensive wall above a massive, sloping, stone-faced glacis, and the great gateway with its machicolations comprise a major ensemble of military architecture at the height of Arab dominance. Works of the 13th-14th centuries including the great towers and the stone entry bridge reinforce the architectural quality of this ensemble. Surrounding the citadel within the city are numerous mosques from the same period including the Madrasah al Firdows, constructed by Daifa Khatoun in 1235.

Integrity

The boundary of the property follows the line of the walls of the old city and three extra-muros areas: North, Northeast and East suburbs. Some attributes exist beyond the boundary and need protection by a buffer zone.

Although the Citadel still dominates the city, the eight storey hotel development in the Bab al-Faraj area has had a detrimental impact on its visual integrity, as have other interventions before inscription. The remaining coherence of the urban fabric needs to be respected and the

vulnerabilities of fabric and archaeological remains, though lack of conservation, need to be addressed on an on-going basis.

Authenticity

Since inscription, the layout of the old city in relation to the dominant Citadel has remained basically unchanged. Conservation efforts within the old city have largely preserved the attributes of the Outstanding Universal Value. However the setting is distinctly vulnerable due to the lack of control mechanisms in the planning administration, including the absence of a buffer zone. The historic and traditional handicraft and commercial activities continue as a vital component of the city sustaining its traditional urban life.

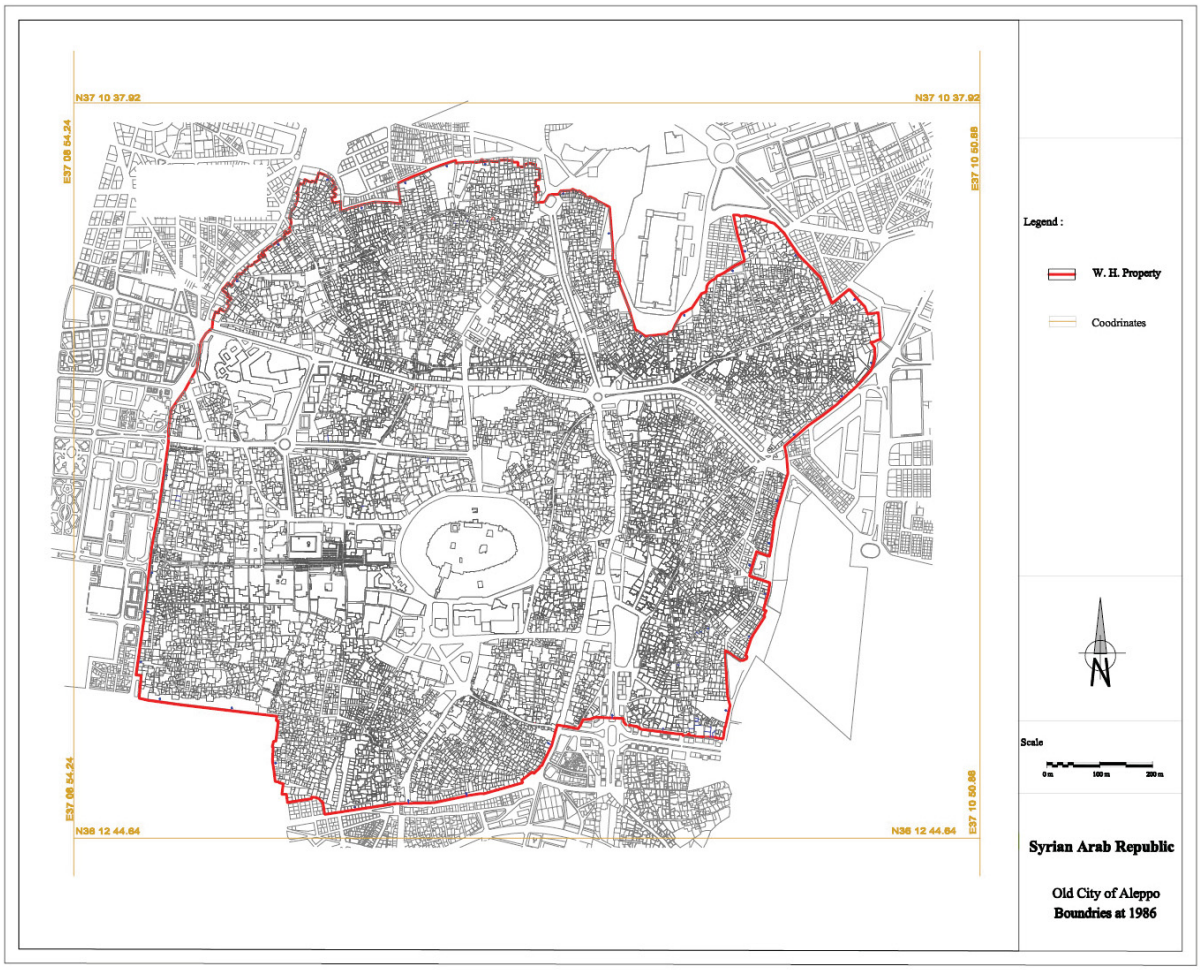
Protection and management requirements

The property is protected by the Antiquities Law administered by the Directorate of Antiquities and Museums (DGAM).

In 1992, the Project for the Rehabilitation of Old Aleppo was set up under the Municipality of Aleppo in cooperation with international agencies. In 1999, the Directorate of the Old City was established under the Municipality of Aleppo to guide the rehabilitation of the old city with three departments covering studies and planning; permits and monitoring, and implementation and maintenance. A comprehensive plan for the evolution of the city is being prepared by the Old City Directorate office. The city's development is being considered under the 'Programme for Sustainable Urban Development in Syria' (UDP), a joint undertaking between international agencies, the Syrian Ministry for Local Administration and Environment, and several other Syrian partner institutions. The programme promotes capacities for sustainable urban management and development at the national and municipal level, and includes further support to the rehabilitation of the Old City.

There is an on-going need to foster traditional approaches to conservation, restoration, repair and maintenance of building fabric. There is also a need for an overall conservation management plan to include planning rules for heights and density of new developments in specific neighbourhoods, and for policies for the protection of archaeological remains uncovered during infrastructure and development works. There is also a need for an approved buffer zone with appropriate planning constraints.

Ancient City of Aleppo — Map of the inscribed property



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DOI: 10.26127/BTUOpen-5175